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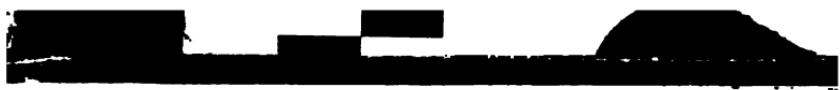
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# Socialism and the Social Movement in the 19th Century

7390

BY

WERNER SOMBART

Professor in the University of  
Breslau

With a Chronicle of the Social Movement  
1750-1896

"*Je ne propose rien, je ne suppose rien; j'expose*"

TRANSLATED BY

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New York

WITH INTRODUCTION BY

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Professor of Political Economy  
Columbia University

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

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**TO THE OTHER AND BETTER MEMBER  
OF THE COMMUNISTIC SOCIETY TO WHICH WE BELONG  
THIS TRANSLATION IS INSCRIBED**



## PREFACE, BY THE TRANSLATOR

WHILE rambling through quaint old Nuremberg, last summer, I was driven for shelter from rain into a bookshop. In a conversation with the genial proprietor, he called my attention to a book, lately published, that had already made a deep impression upon the world of German readers. A reading and re-reading of the little book convinced me that English readers, as well, will be glad to follow Professor Sombart in his comprehensive and suggestive review of Socialism.

Thanks are due to the learned German professor, whose name appears on the title-page, for his courtesy in this matter; also to his German publisher. I would also express obligation to my friend, Professor Sigmon M. Stern, with whom I have consulted freely on some difficult points of translation. The Introduction by Professor John B. Clark, of Columbia University, will be appreciated, I know, by the reader as well as by myself.

A. P. A.

APRIL, 1898.



## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

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THE reader of this work will miss something which he has been accustomed to find in books on Socialism. Professor Sombart has not given us synopses of the theories of St. Simon, Proudhon, Marx, Owen, and others. His work marks the coming of a period in which socialism is to be studied, rather than the speculations of socialists. Theories and plans no longer constitute the movement. There are still schools of socialistic thought; but there is something actually taking place in the industrial world that is the important part of the socialistic movement. Reality is the essence of it.

The structure of the world of industry is changing. Great establishments are exterminating small ones, and are forming federations with each other. Machinery is producing

## Introductory Note

very kind of goods, and there is no place in the world for such a middle was represented by the master work- h his slowly learned handicraft and his shop. These facts construed in a cer- are the material of socialism. If we em the dawn of an era of state indus- shall sweep competition and competi- of the field, we are evolutionary

ay need a doctrinal basis for our view evolution that is going on ; and we may in the works of Marx and others ; but we have ceased to have an absorbing

tern. Marxism, in practice, means realism and a reliance on evolution, however little the wilder utterances of Marx himself may suggest that fact. Internationalism is also a trait of this modern movement; but it is not of the kind that is represented by the International Working-Men's Association. It is a natural affiliation of men of all nations having common ends to gain.

The relation of a thinker to a practical movement cannot lose its importance. It is this connection that Professor Sombart gives us, and his work is an early representative of the coming type of books on Socialism. It treats of realities, and of thought that connects itself with realities. It treats, indeed, of a purposeful movement to assist evolution, and to help to put the world into the shape that socialistic theorists have defined. Here lies the importance of the study of theory.

Professor Sombart's work contains little that is directly controversial; but it gives the impression that the purpose of the socialists is based on a fallacy, that it is not, in reality, in harmony with evolution, and that it will not prevail. It may be added that the style of the work is worthy of the thought that it expresses,

g the more valuable of the wor-  
lism that have thus far appeared.

JOHN B. CLARK,  
Columbia University, New York

## PREFACE

WHAT is here published was originally delivered in the form of lectures, in the Fall of 1896, in Zurich, before miscellaneous but in general appreciative and inspiring audiences. The approval which they received, and the earnestly expressed wish of many hearers that the addresses might appear in print, have finally overcome a not inconsiderable reluctance on my part, felt by all in like position. The lectures are in many places enlarged; indeed, largely put into new form—changed from extemporaneous utterance into the more formal style proper for the written word. But their character remains, especially the restricted setting into which a great mass of material had to be compressed. This is done intentionally, since what I would offer to a larger public through this book is a brief, pointed, well-defined view of “Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century.”

W. S.



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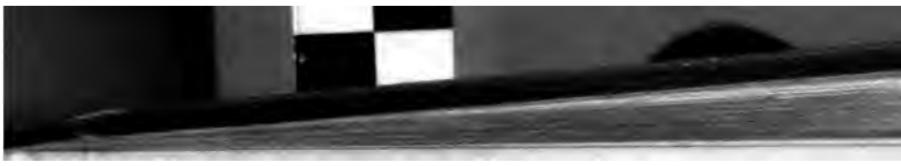
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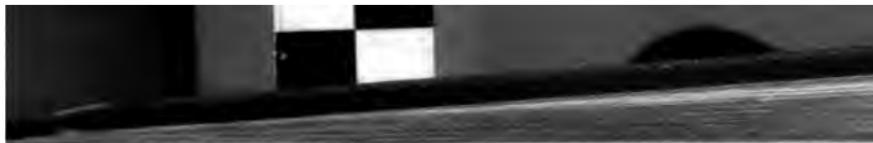


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**the Trade-Union Congress in Liverpool—International Working-Men's Protection Conference in Berlin—Third International Working-Men's Congress in Zurich, at which English trade-unions deliberate officially with the Continental socialists—Fourth International Working-Men's Congress in London.**





# SOCIALISM AND THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN THE XIXTH CENTURY

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## CHAPTER I

### WHENCE AND WHITHER

“ Da ist's denn wieder, wie die Sterne wollten :  
Bedingung und Gesetz ; und aller Wille  
Ist nur ein Wollen, weil wir eben sollten,  
Und vor dem Willen schweigt die Willkür stille.”

GOETHE, *Urworte*.

WHEN Karl Marx began a communistic manifesto with the well-known words, “ The history of all society thus far is the history of class strife,” he uttered, in my opinion, one of the greatest truths that fill our century. But he did not speak the whole truth. For it is not fully true that all history of society consists exclusively in struggle between classes. If we would put “ world history ” into a single phrase we shall be obliged, I think, to say that

## Socialism

There is an antithesis around which the whole history of society turns, as around two poles: local and national—using the word national in the widest meaning. Humanity develops itself into communities, and then these communities fight and compete with each other; but always within the community the individual begins to strive for elevation over others, in order, as Kant once expressed it, to make distinction of rank among his fellows, whom he does not like, from whom, however, he cannot escape. So we see on the one side the exertion of the community for wealth, for recognition; and on the other side the



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cial contrasts; and the varying views, world-wide in their differences, which obtain day by day in different groups of men, all lead back, as it seems to me, to the alternative, "national or social."

Before I now proceed with my theme, "Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century,"—that is, to one member of this antithesis, the social,—I would first suggest the question: "What is a *social movement*?" I answer: *By a social movement we understand the aggregate of all those endeavours of a social class which are directed to a rational overturning of an existing social order to suit the interests of this class.* The essential elements in every social movement are these: First, an existing order in which a certain society lives, and particularly a social order which rests chiefly upon the manner of production and distribution of material goods as the necessary basis of human existence. This specific system of production and distribution is the point of issue for every social movement. Secondly, a social class which is discontented with the existing conditions. By a "social class" I understand a number of similarly interested persons, especially persons who are similarly

citic system of production and distribution ; must, in understanding any social condition, be blind to this economic system ; and we must not allow ourselves to be blinded or controlled by the inbred notions of certain classes. Possessions, which frequently control us, are the bulwarks of classes differing economically, thirdly, an aim which this class, in common with the existing order of things, is seeking to reach ; an ideal, which presents to us all that for which the society exists, and which finds its expression in the statutes, demands, programmes of the general, where you can speak of movement you find a point of issue, the social order ; a supporter of the most advanced social class ; an aim, the ideal of humanity.

In what follows I shall attempt to give some account of the various points of view for an understanding of the modern—social movement. I



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out of which, of necessity, that is produced which we describe as a social movement. That is, to comprehend why specific social classes are formed, why they present these particular points of opposition, why especially a pushing, aggressive social class has, and must have, that particular ideal for which it reaches. We mean, above all, to see that the movement springs not out of the whim, the choice, the malevolence of individuals ; that it is not made, but becomes.

And now to the modern social movement. How is it to be characterised ? If we would hold fast to those elements which constitute every social movement, we must describe the modern social movement on two sides : according to its aim, and according to the class that supports the movement. The modern social movement is, from the standpoint of its aim, a socialistic agitation, because, as will be shown, it is uniformly directed to the establishment of communal ownership, at least of the means of production ; that is, to a socialistic, communal order of society in place of the existing method of private ownership. It is characterised, on the other side, in accordance with the adherents of the movement, by the fact that it is a prole-

initiative, is the proletariat, a class of workers.

And now we ask the question : Is it possible to distinguish those circumstances which render such a movement evidently a necessary development? I said that the movement has, as its supporters, the proletariat, a class of free, lifelong workers. The first condition of its existence is the rise of this class itself. Every class is the result, the expression, of some form of production ; the proletarian form of production which we are used to call capitalistic. The history of the proletariat is also the history of capitalism. This latter cannot exist, it follows, without producing the proletariat. It is now my purpose to give to you a brief account of capitalism. Only this much may be said for the understanding of its nature, that a capitalistic system of production involves

and means of production, as machines, tools, establishments, raw material, etc.—the capitalistic class; the other class is that of the personal factors of production, the possessors only of workman's craft—the free wage-workers. If we realise that all production rests upon the union of the material and the personal factors of production, then the capitalistic system of production distinguishes itself from others in that both the factors of production are represented through two socially separated classes which must necessarily come together by free consent, the "free wage compact," so that the processes of production may take place. The method of production thus formed has entered into history as a necessity. It arose in that moment when demand had become so strong that the earlier methods of production could not longer satisfy the enlarging conditions, in the time when new and large markets were opened. It appeared originally solely with the historic task of implanting the mercantile spirit of manufacture for the maintaining of these new markets. The mercantile talent forces itself on as leader of production and draws great masses of mere hand-workers into its service. It then becomes yet more of a ne-

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ity as the development of the technique of production complicates the whole operation so greatly that the combination of many kinds of work in one product is unavoidable ; especially since the introduction of steam for the production and transportation of goods. The supporters of the capitalistic method of production are, as a class, the *bourgeoisie*, the middle class. How gladly would I speak of the great historic mission which this class has fulfilled ! But again I must content myself with this mere reference, that we see this historic mission in the wonderful development which this class has given to the material forces



supporter of the modern socialistic movement—the proletariat. I have already said that the proletariat follows the capitalistic form of production as its shadow. This scheme of production cannot exist otherwise, cannot develop itself otherwise, than under the condition that, subject to the command of individuals, troops of possessionless workers are herded in great undertakings. It has as a necessary presupposition the rending of all society into two classes: the owners of the means of production, and the personal factors in production. Thus the existence of capitalism is the necessary preliminary condition of the proletariat, and so of the modern social movement.

But how stands it with the proletariat? What are the conditions under which the working-class lives? And how has it come to pass that out of these conditions those particular tendencies and demands have arisen which, as we shall find, have come out of this proletariat? Usually, when one is asked concerning the characteristics of the modern proletariat, the first answer is—the great misery in which the masses are sunk. That may pass with some qualification; only it must not be forgotten that misery is not specifically confined to the

## Socialism

lern proletariat. Thus, how miserable is condition of the peasants in Russia, of the in "rack-rent" tenants! There must be a cific kind of misery which characterises the etariat. I refer, here, particularly to those ealthy work-places, mines, manufactories in their noise and dust and heat, that have en with the modern method of production ; hink of the conditions produced by these hods of production which tend to draw in the work certain categories of workers,—as hen and children ; I think further of how concentration of population in industrial res and in the great cities has increased the



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which the workman passes as he goes on his way to his manufactory or workshop in the dreary part of the city ; it is the contrast in condition which develops hate in the masses. And that, again, is a peculiarity of the modern system, that it develops this hate and permits hate to become envy. It seems to me that this happens principally for the reason that those who display this grandeur are no longer the churches or the princes ; but that they are those very persons on whom the masses feel themselves dependent, in whose direct economic control they see themselves, in whom they recognise their so-called "exploiters." This definite modern contrast is that which principally excites the intensity of this feeling of hate in the masses. Yet one thing further. It is not merely the miserable condition, the contrast with the well-to-do ; but another terrible whip is swung over the heads of the proletariat—I mean the uncertainty in their lives. Also in this we have to do with a peculiarity of modern social life, if we rightly understand it. Uncertainty of existence is indeed elsewhere : the Japanese trembles at the thought of the earthquake that may at any moment overwhelm him and his possessions ; the Kurd

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afraid of the sand-storm in summer, of the  
v-storm in winter, which blight the feeding-  
e for his flocks; a flood or drought in  
sia may rob the peasant of his harvest and  
ose him to starvation. But what consti-  
s the specific uncertainty of the proletariat,  
ch expresses itself in the loss of wage and  
k, is this, that this uncertainty is under-  
d as a result not of the natural causes of  
ch I have spoken, but of the specific form of  
anisation of economic life—that is the chief  
t. “Against nature no man can assert a  
t; but in the constitution of society lack  
comes immediately a form of injustice done

of this wretchedness with the glitter of the bread-masters, the uncertainty of existence, supposed to arise out of the forms of organisation of economic life.

In order now to be able to understand how these growths have pressed forward into the peculiar manifestations which characterise the modern social movement, we must realise that the masses which we have learned to know in the position thus described have been developed as if by magic, have not slowly grown into this condition. It is as if earlier history had been completely effaced for millions of men. For, as the presupposition of capitalism is combination in large operations, there is involved in this also the accumulation of masses of men in cities and centres of industry. This massing, however, means nothing other than this, that completely incoherent, amorphous crowds of men out of the most widely separated regions of the land are thrown together at one point, and that upon them the demand is made "Live!" This involves a complete break with the past, a tearing apart of all ties of home, village, family, custom. It means as well the overthrow of all the earlier ideals of these homeless, possession-

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and coherentless masses. This is a matter which is often underestimated. We forget that it is an entirely new life which the hordes of the modern proletariat have to begin. But what kind of a life is it? In its characteristics there are as many points of explanation for the negative construction of the proletarian world as there are for the destruction of all that has hitherto been dear and precious to man. In fact, the socialistic ideals of communal life and work must of necessity spring out of the industrial centres and the resorts of the working-men in the great cities. In the tenement-houses, the huge manufactories, the public

the outcast finds himself again treated as a man. The individual disappears, the companion emerges. A uniform class consciousness matures itself, also the habit of communal work and pleasure. So much for the psychology of the proletariat.

In order now to gain a full understanding of the modern social movement, let us look at its general time environment. Also here merely a remark or two must suffice. Perhaps this phrase will sufficiently describe the modern period: there is in it conspicuously an exuberance of life, as I think in no earlier period. A stream of vigorous life flows through modern society as at no earlier time; and for this reason a quickness of contact between all the individual members of a society is made possible now as never heretofore. This has been accomplished by the modern means of transportation which capitalism has created for us. The possibility in these days of informing oneself in a few hours concerning the occurrences throughout a great country by means of telegraph, telephone, newspaper, and the possibility of throwing great masses of men from one place to another by modern means of transportation, have produced a con-

## Socialism

on of solidarity throughout great groups of men, a sense of omnipresence, which was unknown in all earlier times. Particularly is this the case in the large cities of these days. The sense of movement of masses has grown enormously. And in like manner has that grown which we are accustomed to call education—knowledge, and with knowledge demands. With this vigour of life, however, is most closely united that which I would call the nervousness of modern times, an unsteadiness, haste, insecurity of existence. Because of the distinctive character of economic relations, this sense of unrest and haste has forced itself into

are in such a process of change that we are impelled to the delusion that there is nothing now certain. And this is perhaps one of the most important considerations for the explanation of the real meaning of modern social agitation. It explains in two ways. In it we see the reason for that destructive criticism of all that exists, which allows nothing as good, which throws away all earlier faith as old iron in order to enter with new material upon the market. Also, it explains the fanatical belief in the feasibility of the desired future state. Since so much has already changed, since such wonders, for which no one has dared to hope, have been realised before our very eyes, why not more? Why not all that man wishes? Thus the revolutionism of the present becomes fertile soil for the Utopia of the future. Edison and Siemens are the spiritual fathers of Bellamy and Bebel.

These seem to me the essential conditions under which a social movement has developed itself in this later time: the peculiar existence of the proletariat; the specific misery, contrast, uncertainty, springing from the modern economic system; a reorganisation of all forms of life, through the tearing apart of

and of new consolidations in the government and operations; finally, the peculiarities of the time in which the social movement exhibits itself, intensity of life, nervousness, revolutionism.

Now let us consider this social movement itself, in theory and practice.



## CHAPTER II

### CONCERNING UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

"Rarely do we reach truth except through extremes—we must have foolishness . . . even to exhaustion, before we arrive at the beautiful goal of calm wisdom."

SCHILLER, *Philosophical Letters*, Preamble.

IT would be strange if such a mighty revolution in economic and social matters as I have sketched for you should not have found its reflection in the minds of thinking men. It would be wonderful, I think, if with this overturning of social institutions a revolution of social thought, science, and faith should not follow. We find in fact that parallel with this revolution in life fundamental changes have taken place in the sphere of social thought. By the side of the old social literature a new set of writings arises. The former belongs to the end of the previous and the beginning of the present century; it is that which we are accustomed to call the classic political economy; it is that which, after a development of about

the capitalistic economic system the great political economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo. By the side of this school devoted to the capitalistic view of society now grows a new school of writings which has this general characteristic, that it is anti-capitalistic; that is, it places itself in opposition to the capitalistic school of thought and considers the advocacy of this school as its peculiar task.

In accordance with the undeveloped character of such economic thought it is, of course, a medley of explanations and claims about what is and what should be, wherein the literature expresses its opposition. All undeveloped literature begins in this tumultuous state, as all unschooled minds at first slowly distinguish between what is and what should be. And indeed in the immaturity of undeveloped literature the practical element preponderates greatly, as may readily be understood.

## Concerning Utopian Socialism 21

*nuances* (delicate differences), it will be convenient to choose as distinguishing marks the differing uses of the new "Thou shalt." Thus we recognise in general two groups in this new literature, the reformatory and the revolutionary. The latter word is not used in its ordinary meaning, but in that which I shall immediately define. The reformatory and the revolutionary literature divide on this point, that the reformatory recognises in principle the existing economic system of capitalism, and attempts upon the basis of this economy to introduce changes and improvements, which are, however, subordinate, incidental, not essential; also, and especially, that the fundamental features of social order are retained, but that man desires to see his fellow-man changed in thought and feeling. A new spirit obtains, repentance is proclaimed, the good qualities of human nature win the upper hand—brotherly love, charity, conciliation.

This reformatory agitation that recognises the injury and evil of social life, but that with essential adhesion to the dominant economic system desires to mitigate the injury and to overcome or minimise the evil, has different ways of expression. It is a Christian, or an

## Socialism

cal, or a philanthropic impulse which calls in the new literature and controls the things that make for social reform.

The Christian thought is that which, in adaptation to the social world, creates that trend literature which we are accustomed incorrectly to designate under the phrase "Christian Socialism." Of this are the writings of Lamennais in France, Kingsley in England, which, end with the spirit of the Bible, address to master and employe alike the demand—Out with the spirit of mammon from your souls, fill your hearts with the spirit of the gospel, "new spirit," as they constantly call it.

## Concerning Utopian Socialism 23

would overwhelm the misery which they see by this universal love of man. "Love one another as men, as brothers!" is the theme of their preaching. All these three streams of thought, merely the sources of which I have specified, continue influential to the present day; and all of them have this in common, that they hold fast in principle to the foundations of the existing social order—therefore I call them reformatory. Opposed to them appears another class of literature, the "revolutionary"; so called because its great principle is the doing away with the foundations of capitalistic economy, and the substituting something different. This it proposes to do in two different ways,—if I may express my meaning in two words,—backwards and forwards.

At the very time when economic contradictions develop themselves and new phases of anti-capitalistic literature come to the surface, we find a revolutionary anti-capitalistic literature strongly asserting itself, which demands a retrogression from the existing system of economics. Such are the writings of Adam Müller and Leopold von Haller in the first third of our century, men who would change the bases on which the modern capitalistic econ-

to-day. These are indeed manifestations of the class capitans, but they have not as yet reached their end.

Besides these reactionary movements there is another movement which wants this regression to old forms. This same way demands an overthrow of the existing capitalistic system. This change must be under the influence of those modern advanced ideas which, on the technical side, betoken that men are accustomed to call "progress." That is, theories, they are which hold the historic essence of capitalistic production—that it is built upon the modern production in the mass; under the influence of advanced ideas of a new order of production and disregarding the interests of those classes of which under the capitalistic economy come short—thus essentially in the

## Concerning Utopian Socialism 25

tion on a large scale, are the ones whom we must call socialists in the true meaning of the word. And we have now to do with a strange species of these socialists, with those whom we are accustomed to call utopists or utopian socialists. The typical representatives of these utopian socialists are St. Simon and Charles Fourier in France, and Robert Owen in England. Of these, the most conspicuous are the two Frenchmen; their systems are most frequently presented. Owen is less known. As I now attempt to make clear to you, through him, the essence of utopian socialism, it is because he is less known, but especially because in my opinion he is the most interesting of the three great utopists. It is he who on the one side most clearly shows to us the genesis of the modern proletarian ideal, and on the other side has been of greatest influence upon other socialistic theorists, especially upon Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Robert Owen was a manufacturer. We find him at the age of twenty years already the manager of a great cotton-mill. Soon after he established a mill at Lanark. Here he learned practical life by personal experience. We distinguish two periods in his life. In the first he

... and expects through  
tial reformation of human society  
work of this epoch is the book  
*of Society*. In the second per  
socialist ; and his most important  
*Book of the New Moral World*.  
interests us in this second period,  
What does he thus teach ? And  
essence of this first form of utopia

Robert Owen takes as the s  
for his theorising the investigation  
made in his immediate surroundings  
tures to us the state of affairs in  
with his own manufactories ; how  
especially the women and children, c  
physically, intellectually and moral  
gins also with a recognition of the  
distinguish the modern capitalistic  
starting-point is proletarian. Up  
vestigations of his own he now bui  
philosophic system which is not i  
one ...

## Concerning Utopian Socialism 27

order of communal life which would in like manner be naturally good if only these men were brought into proper relations with each other—faith in the so-called *ordre naturel*, in a natural order of things which has possibly existed somewhere, but which in any case would exist, were it not that artificial hindrances stand in the way, evils which make it impossible for man to live in this natural way with others. These evils, these forces, which stand in the way of the accomplishment of a natural communal life, Robert Owen sees of two kinds: one in the faulty education of men, the other in the defective environment in which modern man lives—the evils of a rich *milieu*. He infers logically, if we would again realise that natural and beautiful condition of harmonious communal life, that *ordre naturel*, both these evils must be driven out of the world. He demands, therefore, better education on the one side, a better environment upon the other. In these two postulates we find side by side the two periods of his development as we have heretofore seen them. In the first he lays stress rather upon education; in the second, rather upon change of environment. He recognises, further—and this is perhaps the

... in which all dependence has been provided by nature, but have of a definite system of social order which he believes to be the capitalistic. In the economy he sees nothing of that which the representatives of the communities assert; but an order of society by man. Even his opponents believe in *ordre naturel*, only they thought it could not be realised; Owen did not. Much more was compelled to demand the overthrow of this economic system in order that a state might be reached, that man might be enabled to enjoy a better development and a better environment. For this reason he believed that the artificial economic system must undergo essential changes, especially at the points, the main pillars upon which the economic system is built. Owen repudiated the competition of the individual and the making of the master.

## Concerning Utopian Socialism 29

operation will be replaced by communal production, and competition will be in fact overthrown; also, the profit of the employer will flow into the pockets of the producers, the members of the social organisation. These ideas of socialistic production grew, for Owen, spontaneously out of the capitalistic system in which he lived.

Here we come directly to the attitude of spirit in which Robert Owen has conceived his socialistic system, and it is necessary for the completion of this sketch to make reference especially to the means which Owen would use to reach his goal. These means are essentially a universal understanding and agreement among men; to them the truth and beauty of this new order should be preached, so that the wish may be aroused in them to accomplish this new order. But Owen does not think of the possibility that, when it is once made clear how wonderful this new order would be and how wonderfully men would live therein, men would not wish for the new order, and even if they did wish for it, that they might not be able to accomplish it. Only let the matter be known, then the wish and the ability will follow. For this reason, it is possible that the

can come over the world. Only perception is necessary, and this the mind of man suddenly as a lig This peculiar conception of the ways that lead to the goal is one aeteristic traits which distinguish of Owen, and in like manner of socialists.

If we look at this system as a wl as the starting-point a criticism social circumstances in a proletar nity. We find, further, as the which the system stands, the social of the eighteenth century. We demands, the overthrow of the economy and the replacing of priv tion by communal operation. We as the means for accomplishing t roadway that leads to the object enlightenment of mankind. How erted himself to carry out his plan

## Concerning Utopian Socialism 31

ing of the hours of labor and in the limitation of work by women and children, through improvement and amelioration of work in his manufactories, in which a new race began to rise in intellectual and moral freshness. Just so little are we interested in the fact that he is the father of English trade-union agitation. We would only look at his significance for the social movement, and this lies especially in the fact that he first, at least in outline, created that which since has become the proletarian ideal. For this point must be made clear to us, that all the germs of later socialism are contained in Owen's system.

If I now, after having sketched the fundamental ideas of Owen's system, may attempt to condense the essence of the so-called utopian socialism into a few sentences, I would specify this as essential: Owen and the others are primarily socialists because their starting-point is proletarian criticism. They draw this immediately out of spheres in which capitalism asserts itself, out of the manufactory as Owen, out of the counting-house as Fourier. They are, further, socialists for this reason, not only that their starting-point is proletarian, but also because their object is socialistic in the sense

operation and the sharing of the p  
master and workman, but is basic  
munal effort, without competition  
employer. But why, we ask o  
they called socialistic utopists ? .  
they to be distinguished from th  
whom we shall learn to call scie  
ists ? Owen, St. Simon, and Four  
called utopists for the reason that  
recognise the real factors of soci  
are the true and legitimate chil  
naïve and idealistic eighteenth ce  
we, with right, call the century of  
enlightenment.

I have already showed to you ho  
in enlightenment, in the power o  
ledge of good, predominates in Ow  
In this lies essentially its utopian  
those are looked upon as effective a  
factors which do not in fact cons  
" . . . . .

## Concerning Utopian Socialism 33

followers assume that the present order of things is nothing other than a mistake, that only for this reason men find themselves in their present position, that misery rules in the world only because man has not known thus far how to make it better—that is false. The utopists fail to see, in their optimism, that a part of this society looks upon the *status quo* as thoroughly satisfactory and desires no change, that this part also has an interest in sustaining it, and that a specific condition of society always obtains because those persons who are interested in it have the power to sustain it. All social order is nothing other than the temporary expression of a balance of power between the various classes of society. Now judge for yourselves what mistaken estimate of the true world, what boundless underestimate of opposing forces, lie in the belief that those who have power can be moved to a surrender of their position through preaching and promise.

As the utopists underestimate the power of their opponents, so they overestimate their own strength, and thus become utopists as to the future. They are pervaded by the strong conviction that there is needed only an energetic, hearty resolution in order to bring to reality

## Socialism

dom of the future. They rate too  
the ability of the men who will consti-  
future society. They forget, or they  
now, that in a long process of recon-  
men and things must first be created  
to make the new social order pos-

e practical working of the social move-  
most interesting conclusion which the  
draw logically out of this conception  
d of tactics which they recommend for  
the new condition. From what has  
it follows necessarily that this strategy  
ninate in an appeal to men collectively.

## Concerning Utopian Socialism 35

for the erection of the first phalanstery. No one came.

In closest connection with this belief in the willingness of the ruling classes to make concessions stands the disinclination to all use of force, to all demand and command. Thus we find, as the simple thought in the tactics of the utopists, the repudiation of class strife and political effort. For how can this be brought into harmony with their main idea? How can anything that is to be accomplished by intellectual illumination, or at most by example, be achieved through strife? It is unthinkable. So, just as utopian socialism rejects political exertion, it also stands opposed to all those efforts which we are accustomed to call the economic agitation of the workman, such as trade-unions and the like. It is the same thought: how shall the organisation of working-men for strife tend to the improvement of the condition of work, when this can come only through the preaching of the new gospel? Robert Owen indeed organised in England trade-unions. But their work was really the propagation of his socialistic theories, not painful struggle against capitalism. Rejection of class strife in the sphere of politics as of

## Socialism

agitation, repudiation of this in speech and example—herein culminate the f the utopian socialists. This, as I mpted to show to you, is the necessary of their system, built upon beautiful low lines.

now take leave of utopian socialism guard ourselves from the thought that t of this great historic influence has ppeared from the world. No ! no day thout the reappearance, in some book , of these fundamental thoughts which recognised as the essence of utopian . Especially in the circles of the well

## CHAPTER III

### THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT

"The great, dumb, deep-buried class lies like an Enceladus, who in his pain, if he will complain of it, has to produce earthquakes."—THOMAS CARLYLE, "Chartism," ix. (*Essays*. Edition, Chapman and Hall, vi., 169).

THE question which now rests upon the lips of you all, since I have indicated the lines of thought of the first socialists, is this: When such noble minds drew the plan of a new and better world for their suffering brethren, where was the proletariat itself, and what did it do? What are the beginnings of the social movement which is carried on by the masses?

The answer must be that long, very long, after much had been thought and written concerning the condition and future of the proletariat this element of the population yet remained completely untouched by these new ideas, knew nothing of them, cared nothing for them; it permitted itself to be controlled by other forces, other motives. The systems of St. Simon, Fourier, Owen, have had little or no influence with the masses.

## Socialism

turn to the proletariat itself and ask  
ate,—perhaps up to the middle of our  
—we find a precursor of the social  
t which everywhere—that is, in all  
trolled by the capitalistic economy—  
the same marks and is uniformly  
sed in the following way: where the  
t of the masses stands out clearly and  
of its aim, it is not proletarian; where  
tarian, it is not clear and conscious of  
That means, in the conscious move-  
hich the proletariat is found engaged,  
ss elements direct as to the object  
where the proletariat undertakes to

the battles of the middle classes, like the common soldiers who fought in feudal armies. This fact, that we here have to do with purely middle-class movements, has so often been mistaken by many celebrated historians, the terms "communism" and "socialism" have been so constantly applied to those agitations, that it is well worth our while to show the incorrectness of this assumption. For this purpose, we must look separately at those movements which are connected with the years thus specified, since each one has its own characteristics.

If we present to ourselves first the real meaning of the movements of 1789 and 1793, the great French Revolution, it is clear even to those of limited vision that the revolution of 1789 was purely a middle-class movement, and indeed carried on by the higher part of the middle class. It is the struggle of the upper middle-class for the recognition of its rights, and for relief from the privileges of the ruling class of society—from the fetters in which it had been held by feudal powers. It expresses this struggle in demands for equality and freedom, but it really means from the very start a limited equality and freedom. Look at the first, trenchant, we may call them social,

## Socialism

h were passed by the new regime of  
They are by no means of a popular  
or partial to the working-man ; we  
first look that they were not made  
for the masses, but by an aristocratic  
idle-class, which places itself in sharp  
contrast to the rabble. Thus the well-known  
*uale* of October 20, 1789, a riot act,  
makes this distinction as it speaks  
“*gens citoyens*” who must be protected  
by police regulation against the attacks  
of “*gens mal intentionés* ; “when the mob  
disperse on warning, then the armed  
will fire.” They would so control the  
masses, that they could not rise.

year. This applies equally to the employer and the working-man, we may better say the master and the journeyman; but we all know what crying injustice this equality has produced.

Then comes the first consolidation of the new society, the Constitution of November 3, 1791, which, through the introduction of limited franchise, brings to sharp and clear expression the separation between a ruling class of those well-to-do and a ruled class of the "have-nothings." There are now "full citizens" and citizens of the second class.

Thus it is clear that the revolution of 1789 was not at all a proletarian movement. There may seem to be some doubt concerning the agitation of 1793, for it is this, before all others, which our great historians, as Sybel, like to specify as "communistic." The men of Montaigne are, in their eyes, the predecessors of the social democracy; and, indeed, quite lately in a small book published by the Berlin Professor H. Delbrueck in the Goettlingen library for working-men, exactly this assertion is presented—that the leaders of this social movement were true social democrats, and that in fact the social democracy has developed no

## Socialism

ughts since Saint Just and Robespierre. I cannot recognise this assertion as true.

Let us test it. We must admit at first that even the movement of 1793 was essentially non-proletarian. We grant that an undercurrent of democracy breaks through which the French Revolution always followed; but it is this which has misled many. It is there from the beginning. It exists itself already in 1789, in the elections to the States-General, and comes finally in 1793 in its full development.

If you read through the *Cahiers* with their *cahiers* of the year 1789, those "papers of

ployment, the overthrow of Sunday rest and of feast-days. Everyone knows how this cry arises again and again in the speeches and writings of Marat. The *Ami du Peuple* declaims against the "aristocrats," and desires to serve the "people." They found out that, for the great masses of the "poor," freedom and equality availed nothing ; and Marat thus concludes : " Equality of rights leads to equality of enjoyment, and only upon this basis can the idea rest quietly." Then come the taxes ; the " maximum " comes. But I ask you, does that make this movement a proletarian and social one ? Can it be that at all ? Let us look merely at its supporters ! The chief centres of democratic undercurrent are, as has been said, Lyons and Paris. In Lyons we find, indeed, a proletariat, that of the silk industry. We have the statistics of the year 1789 ; at that time there were, in the Lyons silk industry, 410 *maitres marchands fabricants*, 4402 *maitres ouvriers*, 1796 *compagnons*, and about 40,000 other workers of both sexes. We must allow that here, without doubt, there are indeed strong proletarian interests and instincts ; yet they are veiled by the peculiar character of the Lyons silk industry. It had

## Socialism

ime, and has even to-day, a strong hold on the lower middle-class, and to a degree on the upper middle-class, for two reasons. One is due to its peculiar organisation, the fact that the work was not carried on in large factories but in small workshops under the direction of independent masters, and that it created a class of independent men, between the capitalist and the worker, hard to bring into concerted action with the proletariat. The second reason is this, that the Lyons silk industry is a manufacture of an article of luxury, and such industries are in their very nature, in the earlier times, anti-revolutionary;

they yet belonged. The real mass of the Sans-culottes was not made out of wage-workers. It was rather the Parisian lower middle-class ; it was, first, the guild-excluded master mechanics who dwelt in the Faubourg St. Antoine and Du Temple ; secondly, the journeymen ; thirdly, that element which the French call *la boutique*, retailers, tavern-keepers, etc., an important category. These, then, are the great hordes who clustered around Danton, Robespierre, and Marat. And what of these leaders themselves ? Of what spirit are they children ? They are, essentially, of the lower middle-class by birth. They are extreme radicals, extreme individualists. They are in their ideals and aims entirely unsocial and unproletarian according to our ideas to-day. The Constitution of 1793, in Article II., proclaims as *Droits de l'Homme* : *Egalité, Liberté, Sécurité, Propriété*. That is not proletarian and is not socialistic ; thus all the assertions of a communistic movement at that time are thrown out. I have dwelt thus long on this revolution of 1793 in order to show how premature it is to speak of social democrats and of a social or proletarian movement wherever there is any outcry and disturbance.

## Socialism

but briefly touch upon other movements in this early history. The insurrection of 1796, bore certainly the communistic stamp; but, as we now know, it was without response from the masses, who were not yet prepared for revolution.

curiously of the upper middle-class were the revolution of 1830 in France and the revolution of 1848 in Germany. In both cases the struggle was between the middle-class and the aristocracy in strife with feudal forces. Curiously appears the civic character of the revolution of 1832 in England, and of the February revolution of 1848 in France, because the movements were directed against forms of government sustained by citizens themselves. The movement of 1822 in England

behind all the barricades from 1789 to 1848 lie proletarian bodies ; but of all those movements of which I have thus told you, not a single one is proletarian, or in our sense a social movement.

Where now the proletariat fights for itself and represents its own interests we discern at first mere muttered, inarticulate sounds ; and it takes long for these tones to rise to cries, for these cries to grow to general demands, and to become crystallised into programmes. The first proletarian agitations—movements of the unhappy, deeply buried mass—are, according to Carlyle's word, like the movements of Enceladus, who as he quivers in his pain causes an earthquake. These are movements of an entirely instinctive kind, claiming that which lies next, and attacking that which seems to them evidently to stand in the way. These are deeds which originally and largely assume the form of robbery and plunder. They have as their object to injure in some way the enemy in his power of possession. In England towards the close of the preceding and the beginning of the present century there was much destruction and plundering of manufactories. In the year 1812 the demolition of factories was punished in England with death, the best

the factory burning in 1832 in  
in the year 1832, of the weave  
Germany in 1840, of the Lyons s  
insurrection in France in 1831. T  
tinguishes itself from previous e  
similar character by the fact that it  
its great motive the motto which  
can think of as written over the p  
proletarian movement: *Vivre en  
ou mourir en combattant!* That  
timid formulation of proletarian s  
cause the battle-cry is negatively an  
an expression of true proletaria  
effort: negatively—no one shall liv  
not work; positively—those who w  
able to live. Thus this is the fir  
ment of proletarian agitation: attac  
external and visible forms in which  
ment is incorporated—upon the ma  
and machines because in their comir  
petition with hand-work, upon the d

## Antecedents

49

view the principles which lie behind these things, upon which the capitalistic system of economy rests—free competition in production. It is therefore advance in proletarian agitation as this begins to direct itself to the abolition of modern institutions. Thus the proletariat in England, towards the end of the previous and the beginning of the present century, struggled long for a revival of the Elizabethan trade law. This had specified that every master should have only one apprentice for three workmen. The time of apprenticeship should also be limited to seven years, the wages should be settled by a justice of the peace. This is an instinctive clutching after a protective barrier which seems to be disappearing. Even this is not at first clear ; but essentially we find this trait common to all the antecedents of proletarianism, that the movements hold fast to what was in the good old times. Thus, for example, in Germany, the working-man's agitation of 1848 was largely an attempt to reintroduce the old guild system. But it all belongs to the antecedent history of the social movement, because there was no definite aim before the proletariat.

Also to this antecedent history belongs that

ment in England in 1837-1848. Th  
from the brief outbreaks of the  
which we have just now specified it  
was carried on systematically for mor  
decade, and it seems to us like a we  
ised movement. Without doubt it is  
proletarian agitation : if you wish so t  
the first organised proletarian movem  
is proletarian because the great masse  
Chartists were of the labouring class ;  
cause its demands grew immediately  
the condition of the proletariat, and it  
itself immediately for a material better  
the oppressed factory-hands. Thus  
time the maximum day's work was pr  
as a demand ; also, let me remind you  
celebrated phrase of the Rev. Mr. St  
who cried out to the masses : " The c  
which concerns us here is only one c  
and fork ! " The Chartist movement

finds expression in a genuine hate against employers which at that time possessed the masses and became a battle-cry. O'Connor's word, "Down with the wretches who drink the blood of our children, take pleasure in the misery of our wives, and become satiated by our sweat!" reminds us of the phraseology of the proletarian assemblages of the present day. Further, the demand for the right to work is thoroughly proletarian; so also the right to a full profit from the work, to the "increase" which flows into the pockets of the employer. A symptom of the proletarian character of the Chartist movement is seen in its growing indifference to political questions that do not immediately concern it; as, for example, concerning the abolition of the corn tax. It is interesting to see how gradually the Chartist movement became indifferent towards the most pressing interests of the middle-class; these, though originally included, were finally and completely thrown overboard. Also, in the form of the struggle we find the proletarian character. Thus, at that time the general strike appears as a means of warfare, an idea that can rise only in a true proletarian movement. So without doubt, for these and

## Socialism

ons, we have in Chartist a proletarian. But I place it in the antec-

ency, because I miss in it the clear

e of the proletarian-social movement, efinid aim towards which it works.

programme of the Chartist move-

the charter, which contains no true

postulates, but only a collection of

ary reforms. It is nothing other

tform upon which a man stands be-

nows nothing better ; a programme

een taken up by the radical middle-

ocracy. It is O'Connell who trans-

the proletariat : "universal suffrage,

ot, equal representation, payment for

of parliaments, no property qualifica-

holds too largely to the external form, which has similarity in both cases so far as these movements aspire after political power; but it is the inner character which is the determining feature of a social movement.

What characterises the antecedent history of the social movement everywhere is, as I have already said, its invariable similarity. Those agitations and exertions which I have specified as characteristic of the earlier history are invariably similar in every land, wherever we can speak of a social movement. But on the very threshold, in the passage from antecedent to present history, the differences in the social movements begin to become apparent. Unity at the beginning; diversity as the movement develops.

I distinguish three types; and for greater simplicity I call them the English, the French, and the German type. Under the English type of the working-man's movement I understand that agitation which has essentially an un-political, purely trade character. As the type of the French movement let me specify that which I call "revolutionism" or "Putschism," a kind of conspiracy coupled with street fights. And as the German type I

## Socialism

ecify the lawful parliamentary-politi-  
ng-man's agitation.

are the three different forms in which  
movement now grows. In them all  
germs, which in general the social  
contains, unfold themselves to in-  
life, develop the peculiar and dif-  
nciples of this agitation. We shall  
that, after the different nations  
eloped their peculiarities, the social  
t has a tendency again to greater  
y.

we attempt to make clear these dif-

tinent. The English agitation, which is essentially a trade-union movement, they like to speak of as normal and proper; the Continental, which is rather political, as abnormal and improper. How shall we stand on this question? I believe that, in this discrimination and judgment, there is a twofold error, one of method and one of fact. When science pronounces any such judgment, entering into the realm of human history, that is in my opinion an overstepping of the bounds which a scientific man should place about himself. There is presented as objective knowledge a something that is purely subjective and merely the strong private opinion of an interested person—quite regardless of the fact that, as Hegel once expressed it, science always comes too late to teach a man how the world should be. So there lies here what I call a mistake of method. But this manner of looking at the matter involves also a mistake of fact, in that what it specifies as the normal tendency is the most abnormal that has ever existed, because the English social agitation could have become what it is only through a succession of unusual circumstances. For if we take the normal progress of modern capitalistic development

## Socialism

jective standard of measurement, and that is the only one which is of avail, would have much more right to say. Continental movement is the normal, English the abnormal. I think, however, it is more scientific to put aside the question between the normal and the abnormal, and to attempt rather to trace the causes of the different phases of the social movement in different lands. That at least shall be my aim in what follows—to call attention to the variations of social movement, and to explain the reason for these variations in certain

countries, and to "explain" these variations.

underestimates as impelling forces the preponderant interests of economic life, and which believes in miracles in the social world.

Thus, to make my point clear by an illustration, I hold that the usual explanation of the social development in England is unrealistic, that it cannot claim reality. According to this outline, matters in England have developed somewhat as follows: after the proletariat for some decades, and finally in the Chartist movement, had conducted itself in an unruly way in struggling for its interests, about the middle of this century it suddenly became polite, reconciled itself to the dominant economic order, and made peace with employers, who at the same time had become better men. All this occurred because a new spirit had come into man, a revolution of thought had occurred, a change from the individualistic and utilitarian view of things to a social conception of society and of the position and obligation of the individuals in it. The promoters and teachers of this new spirit are supposed to be, before all, Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) and the Christian socialists Maurice, Kingsley, Ludlow, and others. Carlyle's teaching culminates in sentences like these: The evils which have broken

## Socialism

Europe—the French Revolution!—  
n!—rest upon this, that the spirit of  
es; mammonism, selfishness, forgetful-  
obligation. This spirit must be re-  
faith instead of scepticism, idealism  
of mammonism, self-sacrifice instead of  
ess, and social spirit instead of indi-  
m must again come into the heart of  
The individual must not be the central  
s is the case in the eudemonistic-utili-  
philosophy; but social aims, objective  
eals, shall direct the activity of man.  
his conception of the fulfilment of so-  
gation the relation between the prole-  
tariat and the middle class, will be  
the condition of the social revolution.

enter love and confidence. The "social question" is solved; at least we are upon the way to "social peace," capitalism is saved, socialism is sloughed off.

I shall investigate later the extent to which the social facts, here asserted, can claim reality; but assuming this—that pure harmony rules in Albion—can such a hyper-idealistic explanation satisfy us? Must we not introduce some more substantial causes than merely the results of Carlyle's sermons?

Absolute proof of the one or the other conception, naturally, cannot be had, because it is the critic's philosophy, his estimate of man, that finally decides; Wallenstein the realist and Max the idealist can never fully convince one another. Anyone can, through a massing of reasons and proofs, make the truth of his assertion concerning certain evident facts at least plausible.

I, for my part, am sceptical concerning all optimistic explanations of history, and believe rather with Wallenstein than with Max. And as now, forced by this ill-favoured mistrust, I look more closely at the development in England of the matter that lies before us, I get a picture essentially different from that which I

accomplished such wonders. In  
tions which are characteristic o:  
development in England, trade  
brotherhoods, rules, so far as I  
healthy spirit of selfishness. Perh  
no social creation which is buil  
tally upon selfishness than the tr  
necessarily so. And as I read t  
outpourings of the Christian sociali  
complete failure of their exertions,  
them easily into harmony with oth  
tions. But even allowing that the  
tain effectiveness of the "social sp  
does exist, shall I believe that it is  
move mountains? Or shall I not  
assume that the economic and poli  
opment, controlled by selfishness, h  
helped, has created the conditions i  
social spirit could work?

cult. Let us see how the national peculiarities of the social movement, considering the actual facts of history, can be understood as the necessary results of specific lines of development.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL PI

"Die Staaten (und) Voelker . . . in diese Weltgeistes stehen in ihrem besonderen bestimmter an ihrer Verfassung und der ganzen Breite ihres Zu legung und Wirklichkeit hat, deren sie sich bewusst teresse vertieft, sie zugleich bewustlose Werkzeuge inneren Geschaefts sind, worin diese Gestalten ver an und fuer sich aber sich den Uebergang in seine Stufe vorbereitet und erarbeitet."—HEGEL, *Rechtsphilosophie*

HOW shall we now, in a word, consider the English working-men's movement? I think thus: since 1850 the definite "revolutionary" agitation has ceased—that is, the working-men's movement accepts the basis of the capitalistic order of society, and through the establishment of benevolent brotherhoods, and trade-unions, with existing associations, is seeking to improve the condition of the working-class.

is accomplished. Effective legislation for the protection of the working man is secured ; concerning which I would remark incidentally that this "elevation" tends in fact only to an aristocracy of working men such that, for example, in London immeasurable misery results —over 100,000 persons in that city are supported by the poor-rates, \$25,000,000 are yearly disbursed in charity, one-fifth of the deaths occur in almshouses, public hospitals, etc. But not to dwell on this ; other strata of the English proletariat have without doubt considerably improved their condition.

And now to the point ;—all this is without part taken by the working man in politics, without the assumption of a political character by the working-men's movement, without constituting an independent working-men's party.

As we seek for the causes of such development, immediately we notice that, whether or not the "social spirit" has helped, we cannot think of this trait without considering a most peculiar combination of political and economic circumstances in England from 1850 to about 1880.

Without doubt the position of industrial monopoly which England reached, and which

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remendous economic impulse to the  
as the solid basis of all social devel-

A few figures in illustration.  
ailroads of the United Kingdom cov-

in 1842—1,857 English miles,

in 1883—18,668 English miles.

ips entering all British harbours  
d

in 1842 to 935,000 tons,

in 1883 to 65,000,000 tons.

ort and export business was valued

in 1843 at about £103,000,000,

in 1883 at about £732,000,000.

means that the other nations could not  
gland in extending the market for an

Besides this peculiar combination of circumstances of an economic nature, which can never again come to any land because the competing and strengthened nations now struggle for supremacy in the markets of the world, consider the most remarkable condition of political party life in England.

It is well known that this rests, at least since the beginning of this century, upon an alternation of power between the two great parties, the Tories and the Whigs. They both strive after control, and they reach this from time to time by shrewd concession to the spirit of progress, by a happy use of the situation at the moment. Now one, now the other, quickly seizes and masters it. The *tertius gaudens* in this struggle for mastery is the working men as a class. It does not require much penetration to see that, for example, the radical English legislation in favour of the working man has come to pass only through the spite of the Tories, agrarian in their interests, against the liberal manufacturers. But if you wish to suppose noble motives for parliamentary majorities, the resolution of the Tories to provide protection for the industrial proletariat must at least have been made easy through the con-

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n that the land proletariat would never  
laws. Later, especially since exten-  
the franchise, the policy of the Whigs  
cted to reaching rule, or to sustaining  
es therein, with the help of the work-

That involved, naturally, concessions  
rit of friendliness to the working class,  
hard to yield, even if the employers  
personal interest in these concessions.  
he employers—thanks again to the  
combination of circumstances at that  
England—had without doubt to some  
direct and personal interest, if not in  
g, at least in not opposing, the exer-  
the working class for an improvement  
situation within the limits of the exist-

unions were a bulwark against all tendency to revolution, sure and strong as no police regulation could erect? And because methods of agreement offered a useful means of avoiding strikes and the consequent disturbances of trade, which were extremely feared because business was always favourable, and because every day they could make money, and because every day in which the manufactory stood still a considerable *lucrum cessans* was involved?

And, finally, why should not legislation in favour of the working man be recommended? Even if the cost of production is somewhat increased, we are easily in position to recover the charge from the consumer. But production is not necessarily made more costly; the shortening of the hours of labour can be made good through an increased intensity of work, and thereby arises an advantage in having capable workmen, who are gradually paid at higher rates. Or this drawback may be counterbalanced by improvement of machinery; this they were the more willing to do, for capital was abundant, and no bounds would be placed to increase of production and sale by the possibilities of the market. Lastly, they

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member that shrewd legislation in the working man is an excellent or the large concerns to use against in order to do away with the discompetition of petty manufacturers. It is with the assurance that an excess of production will not be hindered, to be demanded, by the condition of it.

Now, granting that all could be accomplished so easy and business-like a way, as evolution in England has, in fact, accomplished under the said conditions, consider, in addition, the peculiar want of the English working-man. He is such a moderate and practical

for the protection of personal interests that has ever been conceived ; diplomatic, adroit, smooth towards that which is above—towards the employer ; exclusive, narrow, brutal towards that which is underneath—towards four-fifths of the “outsiders,” the poorer classes of workmen. The trade unions are capitalistic and business-like organisations, which the calculating practical sense of the English working-man has infused with his spirit. Hence, surely in great part, their large results. ✓

Such causes as these seem to me at the bottom of the social development of England from 1850 to 1880. It was the coincidence of a number of circumstances favourable to capital that produced this business-like organisation of the working man—that specific type which we call English.

Thus there is no socialism, no social movement in the strict sense of the term, no struggle of classes ; but there is a “social peace,” or at least an approach towards such, upon the basis of the capitalistic economy.

Is it truly “social peace”? Perhaps it is only a postponement of the struggle. It seems almost so ; unless all signs fail, this “social peace” will not last much longer in England.

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passing of English supremacy from  
ets of the world, since the rise of  
ta of working men, the "social move-  
again on. The sense of solidarity  
it the proletariat awakens anew. With  
he strife of classes. The question of  
ent political action on the part of the  
man now stands as a matter of discuss-  
re the working-men's congresses. Al-  
ve socialistic theories and demands  
ression upon the orthodox member-  
e trade unions. But of this we must  
speak. I would merely refer to the  
the time from 1850 to 1880 is rightly  
period of social trust; it was the

tion that comes over from the English type and will remain in the proletariat, even if the direction of agitation becomes essentially different.

And now we leave British ground. Now we step over the Channel, and go into France. What a change of scene! Out of foggy, smoky England, with its earnest, capable, dull populace, into the charming, sunny, warm land of France, with its passionate, impulsive, hasty population.

What kind of a social movement is this in France? I have already given some indications. All ferments and boils there, all bubbles and breaks out uninterruptedly since the "glorious" revolution of the previous century. Parties are in a state of constant flux; a movement divides itself into countless factions. With haste and pressure single acts fall over one another. Parliamentary struggle is set aside, now by bloody street fights, now by conspiracy, now by assassination. To understand clearly this general characteristic, which runs to-day in the very blood of the French proletariat, but which is becoming modified, we must go back to the earlier decades. We must think of the activity of the clubs and

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s of conspirators in the third and  
ades of this century ; we must recall  
street fights which the Parisian pro-  
aged with heroism in the June days  
ar 1848, and, later, in the May days  
ar 1871. There is, as it were, a smoul-  
ner fire that glows constantly in the  
nd their leaders, and that, when any  
ent comes to it, breaks out violently  
ates all around. The social move-  
rance has always had in it something  
xcited, convulsive. Mighty, magnifi-  
sudden outbreaks ; again faint and  
fter the first repulse. Always look-

Factionism, clubbism, and Putschism. Factionism is the tendency to separate into innumerable small parties; clubbism is the desire of conspiracy in secret companies and conventicles; Putschism, finally, is the fanatical tendency towards street struggle, faith in the barricade.

Whence all this? One thing springs immediately to the attention of the student of French history: what we here have learned to recognise as a characteristic trait of the movement of the French proletariat is to be found almost without change in all the actions of the French middle-classes. Indeed, it is evidently an inheritance that the proletariat has assumed. Unnoticeably the one movement passes into the other. The French proletariat is led into history by the hand of the bourgeoisie. Long after the proletariat in France had begun an independent agitation, the influence of this former movement was conspicuous. Not only in the method of strife; as well in the programmes and ideals of the French proletariat, this middle-class spirit stands even to our latest time, so that we can understand why Proudhon, the greatest theorist of the revolutionary movement, as late as after 1848 had influence

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cles of the French proletariat. That was really a bourgeois theorist is denied, but is none the less true; however revolutionary his phraseology may be, all proposals for reform—whether the extended credit banks, or the wage theory, "establishment of value,"—point to an ending, a strengthening, an ethicizing ofistic production and the exchange of service.

One who looks at the matter will note the long predominance of middle-class influence in the French proletarian movement. What prestige the French, especially the middle-class has won in the eyes of the populace, in the course of later French

has levelled the ground ; that is the historic significance of the Reign of Terror, and with it of the middle class that since those days has borne an aureole upon its head.

But it is not only this rather ideal element that is responsible for the preponderance of the middle-class influence in France ; we must add the weighty fact that a great part of the specifically French industries, owing to the peculiar organisation in *ateliers*, bears a half-individualistic character, and that these are largely industries of the arts. Thus the Lyons silk industry and many of the Parisian manufactures of luxury. These are in sharp contrast, for example, to the great English staple industries of coal, iron, and cotton. The French *ouvrier*, in Lyons directly called *maître ouvrier*, assumes, through the tendency and organisation of many French industries, a more individualistic, and so middle-class, appearance than the proletariat in other lands.

But to understand the characteristics which are stamped upon the social movement in France as an inheritance from the middle class, to explain that enthusiasm for revolution of which I have spoken to you, we must

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the whole history of France. That—a sanguine, enthusiastic race, with a temperament, with a dash which is not found in those of northern lands. The French type of the social movement, modified by German influence, is to be found in Italy; there we must see its peculiar characteristics, the impulsion of large masses, the straw fire of temporary enthusiasm—in short, we must find clearly an entirely different mode of thought and feeling in order to comprehend the French, or, if you will, Roman, type of revolutionist, in its heaven-wide difference from the English workman. Victor

Thus one of Latin race strives after a far-off object, and does not shrink from forceful means of reaching it. This heaven-storming temperament has been given to him by nature for his mission in history. Further, in order to understand the character of the social movement in France, think of the preponderance in this land of the capital city, Paris! If Paris is not exactly France, as is often asserted, yet it is strong enough to dictate on occasion the laws of the people. Paris, this nerve ganglion! This rumbling volcano!

Further, I have always the impression that the French people stand even to-day under the influence, perhaps we may say the ban, of their "glorious" revolution. The influence of such an event—the most tremendous drama of history—cannot in one hundred years disappear from a people. So I think that this nervousness, if I may so express it, which clings to all public life in France, may be, in large part, a heritage from those terrible years of general overthrow, an inheritance that has been most carefully fostered in less glorious revolutions since then—ah, how many! And out of that time springs something else: an overmastering faith in force, in the availability

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political riot. The history of France developed itself since the July days of 1830 rather from without to within, than from within to without; the change of régime has often played a mighty rôle, has often worked decisively on the progress of social life. It is a general rule that always they rest their hope and seek to use further, as a means of social development, the political revolution which has always wrought so mightily. This belief in the efficacy of political revolution stands, however, in close connection with the specifically French, and, in a sense, ideal-socialistic philosophy of the eighteenth century, of which I have heretofore

of pure revolutionism in method, of middle-class ideals as object? Are not Ravachol and Caserio the true sons of those conspirators who inspired the France of 1830 and 1840? Is there any more legitimate father of anarchy than Blanqui? Anarchy, we may say, is born of the marriage of the social philosophy of the eighteenth century with the revolutionism of the nineteenth; it is a bloody renaissance of social utopism.

Here mention must be made of a matter which I have carefully avoided thus far, because it is an hypothesis which I must lay before you with a question-mark. Has the fact that the land is divided among so many small owners had any effect upon the peculiar development of the modern anarchistic movement? I mean, there must be a connection between both these phenomena. Indeed, it is a question as to how far anarchism has ever obtained in the masses. But, so far as I can see, wherever the anarchistic propaganda seems to spread it is always in agrarian districts; I recall the work of Bakunin in Italy and Spain, and, as well, the nestling of anarchism now again in France. And wherever the country people have been aroused to inde-

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agitation, this movement has always at least a trace of anarchism. For example, Italy and Spain and Ireland.

an interesting problem:—Is, and if so, is anarchy the theoretical expression of revolution? The investigation of this would lead me far away from my present purpose, to speak of the proletarian-socialistic movement. But I would at least present it. You will ask me, finally, what lasting effect the theory of the French agitation has had upon the international movement of the proletariat. My answer—perhaps the least of all the answers—since it bears unmistakable marks of French influence. But I believe that it will be the most lasting of all the answers, because of the idealism of the French revolutionaries.

disturbances—suddenly, in the year 1863, as if shot out of a pistol, appears an independent political working-men's party, not again to disappear, but to grow to mighty proportions.

Whence comes this strange apparition of such a social agitation in Germany? How can we explain the suddenness of its entrance, and especially the fundamental traits of its character—its legal-parliamentary tendency, and its self-reliance from the beginning even until now? v

At first we may incline to the thought that the causes for the peculiarities of agitation in Germany should be sought in the personality of its founder, Ferdinand Lassalle. Without doubt we owe much to the individuality of this extraordinary man. We know what kind of a fire it was that burnt consumingly within him—a demoniacal ambition, a Titanic eagerness for fame. And as this ambition, after many years of scientific renown, finally led him into the sphere of politics, wherein all ambitious men who cannot be generals and artists in our time must necessarily go, it was only natural that the masterful Lassalle should become leader, chief, prince. Where Bismarck stood, another could stand only in the shadow;

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opposition would not have Lassalle—  
y about 1855–1865 he desired to ally  
with them, but they feared this man to  
ey would not yield themselves. There  
only one thing, to become the leader  
and distinct party, the working-men's  
This was Lassalle's party in the strict-  
, his hammer, his sword, with which  
win for himself a position in political

ese personal elements must be aided  
instances, the specific conditions of  
and social life in Germany, in order  
Lassalle's efforts with success and to  
thoroughly the movement during the  
r of his leadership.

like that in France, was not at this time possible—even if we assume that German character would thus incline. The opportunity came too late. Revolutionism in the French sense bears, as I have already said, the mark of unripeness. Revolutionism may influence a nation long, but it cannot be made the ruling motive of a social movement at so late a point of time as that at which the German agitation began because the stage of unripeness has passed. Take for example Italy, whose people certainly by nature tend towards revolutionism; yet they must conform to the experiences of older lands even if the inner nature always urges to outbreak.

On the other hand, Germany, as its social agitation began, was yet so immature economically —like England at the end of the last century—that the subordination of economic to political agitation is easily understood.

But would it not have been perhaps more natural if the proletariat, when it desired to enter into a legal-parliamentary course of action, had sought alliance with the existing party of opposition—as has happened in other lands? We must lay stress on the fact that it was hindered in this through the incapacity of the middle-class party of that time in radical poli-



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for this reason it could not at the time  
help the proletariat.

part of the inheritance which German  
society has received from the year 1848  
one of its chief characteristics is the fear  
of the red spectre—revolution. Indeed the  
proletariat has itself helped towards this by its  
actions. We all know how the middle-class  
revolution of the year 1848 in Germany failed,  
how the protection of the Prussian bayonets  
against the “gens mal intentionnés”—the  
revolutionary undercurrent of democracy present  
in the civil revolution. Civic pride and de-  
votion at that moment, as always, when the  
spectre of social revolution appeared on the  
horizon—witness the law against the socialists.

dreary Manchester school of thought. The exertions of Schulze-Delitzsch, who was indeed in his sphere a serviceable man, could not nearly make good the shortcomings of the liberal party in all questions of social politics. The liberal political economists of that time had no understanding of the demands and movements of the proletariat. Such pitiful writings on the so-called "working-man's question" as those by Prince-Smith are not produced by writers of reputation in other lands, so far as I know. Possibly this or that great man *de l'Institut* has rivalled them.

The inability of the liberal party to draw the gushing water of proletarian agitation to its own mill finds striking example in the answer which, in the year 1862, a deputation of working-men from Leipsic received from the leaders of the "National Union." The working men had applied for the privilege of taking part in political life. They wanted some recognition for their leaders. And what was given as answer? That the working men were by birth already honorary members of the union!

And now Bismarck, in spite of the fact that the liberal party was refusing the franchise to

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etariat, forced upon the country in the '71 a universal, direct, and secret ballot, of Lassalle's. We are tempted to diabolical revenge against the liberals motive for this. For the moulding of al movement in Germany this had sequences of fundamental importance. weakened yet more the middle class, now between the aristocracy and the at, was sinking into an ever-increasing tance and, through fear of the growing men's party, lost more and more of its idence. Hence a further estrangement the liberal party and the proletarian nt ensued.

dly, this franchise that had fallen into

objects of political effort. But the purpose of science is only to explain how things have unfolded themselves ; and only that is the idea which has ruled throughout this my work. But of course there are always people unable to separate science and politics.

One remark in conclusion ! This Lassalle movement, and with it also the German type of social agitation, bears the stamp not only of historic-national interest, as I have attempted to show to you, but also much of purely personal characteristics ; as is proved by the mysticism, the cult of a person and the creation of a sect, to which the movement has deteriorated. Has it never occurred to you how remarkable it is that this movement, perhaps more than any other, has developed, in spite of its German and personal characteristics, into a world-wide and enduring "school," if I may so express it ? Of this there can be no doubt.

One ground for this may be found in the personality of its creator, in the passionate force of his oratory, in the power of his agitation. Treitschke thinks that Germany has possessed three great agitators, List, Blum, and Lassalle. Surely Lassalle is the greatest

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the proletariat thus far; the only of real greatness which the proletariat far had. For this reason his person-  
continues in force even until now.

slau a churchyard—a dead man in grave :  
slumbers the one who to us the sword gave."

re again we are not satisfied with the personal element; we must rather seek real grounds for the explanation of

it seems that the triumph of the type in the international movement, has begun through Lassalle, lies essen-  
the circumstance that Lassalle's agita-  
then the later German movement, is

movement international, to unify it. But of this we must not here speak ; only of its peculiar features. The one great social movement runs first into separate streams of national effort ; later these unite again. There is throughout a tendency to return to unity. But the movement develops itself in national lines and is determined by contingencies which make history. The general law of these incidental circumstances I have tried to show to you to-day.

And now at last let us pass to the theorist of the social movement, Karl Marx.

## CHAPTER V

KARL MARX

*“Κτῆμα ἐσ ἀεί.”*

THUC., i., 22.

KARL MARX was born in Treves in the year 1818, the son of a Jewish lawyer, who was later baptised into the Christian faith. Science and general culture were at home in the house of his parents. The favourite writers of the family were Rousseau and

purposing to become a Prussian professor. By the year 1842 he came to the point of formal admission as lecturer. But difficulties soon presented themselves; the young Marx, then allied with Bruno Bauer, was carried away by the reactionary tendency which at that time swept again over the Prussian universities, especially over heretical Bonn. As customarily happens in such cases of aborted career, the young Marx became a journalist. Soon he emigrated, because in 1844 the Prussian police drove him out of the land; he fled to Paris, was thrown out again by Guizot on demand, we suppose, of Prussia; in 1845 he went to Brussels, returning to Germany during the year 1848; finally after the year 1849 he found rest in London from the pressure of the police. Here he lived until his death in the year 1883.

His personality, the characteristics of which were strikingly developed through the external circumstances of his life, was marked by extraordinary intellectual activity. He was a pitiless and positive critic in his very nature. He had an abnormally sharp vision for psychological and historical continuity, especially where these are based upon the less noble impulses

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hind. A word of Pierre Leroux's seems as if coined for Marx : "il etait . . . étrant sur le mauvais côté de la nature." So it was by nature easy for him to believe in Hegel's teaching that "evil" has hindered all the development of mankind. The conception of the world is expressed in Marx's magnificent words :

"The bad spirit belongs to the earth, not to the good ; things that the gods send to us from above are to be had only in communal possession. Their light brings joy, yet makes no man rich ; in their kingdom there is no private possession."

It is this that qualified Karl Marx to reach the highest rank among the social philosophers of the

tan experience to withdraw attention from the incidental features of national development, and to concentrate it upon what is typical in modern social life.

Marx, in common with his friend Friedrich Engels, in a large number of monographs, the best known of which is *Capital*, has laid the ground-lines of an amazing system of social philosophy; but this is not the place for a study of its particular features. What interests us much more at this time is the Marxian theory of social agitation, because this is especially what has enabled him to influence decisively the progress of social development. In no single book of his is this theory comprehensively presented. Yet we find all the essential elements of it in the celebrated "Communistic Manifesto" of Marx and Engels in the year 1847, which was presented as a programme to the "League of the Righteous" in Brussels; they accepted it and thus changed themselves into a "League of Communists." The "Communistic Manifesto" contained the principles of a philosophy of history, upon which the programme of a party is based. Its leading thoughts are these:

All history is the story of a struggle between

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the history of the present is the story of the struggle between the middle class and the proletariat. The making of classes results from certain economic conditions of production and distribution, through which also social conditions are determined. "Immanent" forces (the word does not occur in the "Communistic Manifesto," but becomes later a technical term) continually revolutionise the conditions of production and thus of all economic matters. In this organic change is accomplished with special quickness, because the tremendous forces of production created by the middle class grow too fast. Thus on the one side the conditions of existence under the present capitalist economy quickly deteriorate; upon

of momentary barbarism," and in the emergence of pauperism in which it plainly appears now

"that the middle class is unfit longer to remain the ruling class of society and to enforce the life condition of itself as the ruling law ; it is unfit to rule because it is incapable of securing subsistence to its slave within the terms of his slavery, because it is compelled to let him sink into a position in which it must support him instead of being supported by him."

But the conditions of the new social order (this thought also is merely suggested in the "Communistic Manifesto" and only later, especially by Engels, is it developed) are created by an enormous increase of the forces of production and by the "communisation of the processes of production" which goes hand in hand with this increase—that is, the interweaving and combination of the individual acts of production, and transition to co-operative methods, etc.

The most important consequence now for our question is this : the economic revolution finds its spontaneous expression in opposition and struggle of classes, the "modern social movement"—that is, the movement of the proletariat is nothing but the organisation of those elements of society which are called to break

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the middle class and "to conquer the social forces of production." This can be accomplished only by "abolishing their private appropriation as it has thus far been, and with it the whole idea of private property"; that is, in place of private possession to establish communal private production to establish communism.

"communists"—that is, the political party for which the "Communistic Manifesto" is a confession of faith—are only a part of the warring proletariat; they form that part conscious of the process of development. This party

differs from the other proletarian elements

The thoughts here expressed, as I have already indicated in several places in this review, have been later to some extent more precisely worded, have been to some degree enlarged and developed, have been in part modified; but the ground-lines of Marx's theory of the social movement are already revealed in them all. In what now lies their historic importance? How shall we explain their tremendous power of conquest? Whence comes their continuance already through a half-century?—and all this, in spite of the fact that, as I believe, this theory errs in essential points, and that it can scarcely indeed sustain itself as a whole!

Before I now attempt to give the answer I must make one thing clear. What Marx and Engels have left to us as an intellectual inheritance, whether we consider their writings from 1842, or even only those after 1847, seems at first as if it were a confused mass of varied thought-material. Only he who looks closely and who takes the trouble to enter into the spirit of the men can bring the separated lines of thought into order. Such an one finds that some fundamental ideas run through the writings of Marx and Engels during the whole period of their literary activity; also that at

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times quite different lines of thought pass and confuse the system which, as a whole, is built up upon these great ideas. The adherents of the Marxian teaching, especially those representing the middle class, commit the mistake of not separating the permanent from the accidental, and have as a result not been able to do justice to the historic value of these theories. Naturally it is better to start with the contradictions and incoherencies of an author, rather than to make a general survey of what is of lasting worth; it is however not right, to content oneself with denouncing and apparent blunders and mistakes in the system without at the same time

“middle-class” critics of Marx ; but it is also because of the members of his own party. I recall the fact that the fundamental principle of Marx's economic system—the theory of value—has become an object of fruitful discussion as lately as two years ago. At that time I attempted to bring into use this method which I have just specified as the only true one for such a peculiar formation as the Marxian teaching ; I asked how the parts of Marx's theory which stand in such opposition to each other could be reconciled, in order to bring out the sense which so earnest a thinker must surely have laid underneath. At that time the aged Engels could bear witness that I had about “hit the right mark,” but that he could not endorse all that I had “introduced” into the Marxian teaching. Other critics thought at the time that nothing more would be heard of Marx's teaching concerning value. Perhaps they are right ; but if Marx's *Theory of Value* is a scientific work, it can be such only in my interpretation.

I have thus spoken in order to show you how I stand concerning Marx's theory of the social movement. I make most earnest effort to separate it from all extraneous matter, to

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hend it in its essential points, and so to emphasise these essentials in such way that they are consistent with reality. At the same time I hope to emphasise the spirit of Marx's theories, and not merely the letter. I hope that it is truly the soul of Marx, and not merely myself, "in which the times reflect themselves."

All attempt to speak later concerning this book upon as confusing "non-essentials" and "essentials" ; I speak now of what I think to be the historically important essence—the *essence*—of Marx's theory of the social movement.

And first and before all, it is a scientific account of the first order to give prominence to the historic conception of the social move-

fundamentally great displacements of social classes is a truth enunciated before the time of Marx ; but no one has ever presented it in so impressive a way. He takes economic revolutions as his starting-point, in order to explain the creation and the conflict of social classes ; and in *Misère* (175), before the "Communistic Manifesto," he had already said: "il n'y a jamais de mouvement politique qui ne soit social en même temps." But therewith—and it is this that is of importance to us—is the proletariat brought to full self-consciousness and taught to know itself in its historic relations. Out of this historic conception arises, for Marx and for the proletariat, with certainty the main points of the programme and the tactics of the social movement. They are only "a general expression of actual relations in an existing struggle of classes," as the "Communistic Manifesto" has expressed it somewhat vaguely. To state it more exactly, the theory of Marx affirms the identification of that which unconsciously and instinctively had arisen as a proletarian idea with that which is actually observable as the result of economic development. As to tactical management, however, the idea was decisive that revolutions

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be forced, but were the outgrowth of economic antecedents ; while class both its forms—the political, of which "Communistic Manifesto" speaks chiefly,

economic, for which in *Misère* Marx stakes a lance—is recognised as the instrument which the proletariat must use in order to protect its interests during the process of economic transformation. Thus he formulates which every intelligent proletarian must recognise as its fundamental principle. Socialism as a goal, struggle becomes as the way towards it, cease to be personal opinions, and are under-necessary.

elementary conception, that these two

movement which fully satisfies the demands of our day as to scientific method. It is known that Marx stands upon the Hegelian dialectic, out of date now. What we demand is a psychological founding of social happening, and for this Marx cares little.

Now it seems to me easy to fill this gap. I shall attempt it so far as the limitations of time allow.

Why must the ideal of every proletarian movement be necessarily a democratic collectivism—that is, the communisation of the means of production? It seems to me that the following considerations contain the answer to the question.

The modern social movement strives after that which is represented by the battle-cry, "The emancipation of the proletariat." But this has two phases, an ideal and a material. Ideally a social class can consider itself as "emancipated" only when it as a class is economically and politically dominant or at least independent; the proletariat, that now finds itself in economic dependence upon capital, can only become "emancipated" by throwing off this connection. Perhaps we can conceive of the proletariat as using employers

## Socialism

to carry on the work of production. Then the management will be no longer in the hands of the employers as to that of the proletariat as master of the

So long as this supremacy is not given in any such form, there can be no question of an "emancipation" of a class. We speak of this "emancipation" in a general sense, so long as those conditions in which to-day, from a class standpoint, are based upon as marking a social inferiority derived from the capitalistic social system. The proletariat sets an aim clearly before it, this goal can only be, from the class standpoint, the overthrow of this capitalistic system. Now this overthrow is possible in

will be socialism. There is no third possibility. If the proletariat does not vanquish capitalism by a return to the smaller forms of operation, it can accomplish this only by putting a socialistic organisation in place of the capitalistic. And further: the proletariat can attach itself only to the latter method, because its whole existence is interwoven with the system of production on a large scale; it is indeed only the shadow of the system, it exists only where this system rules. Therefore we can say that socialism as the aim of the social movement arises fundamentally and necessarily out of the economic situation of the proletariat. The whole demonstration falls to the ground in a moment, wherever a tendency to the development of proletarian production on a large scale does not exist in economic life.

What I would here show, let me say again, is the necessity of the ideal; but this must not be confused with the certainty of its realisation. In order to prove this, it would be necessary to present other considerations, which lie far from our subject. Thus, whether any such realisation of the ideal is scientifically possible seems to be doubtful. For this would not be proved even if it should be demonstrated that

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proletariat desires and strives for has  
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to this, that the conception of social-  
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vestigation is this, and it is a true  
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n so long as they are merely evolved  
d of the theorist. They obtain real-  
when they are united to actual eco-  
ditions, when they arise out of these  
. The possibility of realising the  
beautiful is enclosed within the

groups of persons whose homogeneity arises out of their attachment to specific forms or spheres of economic life. We distinguish the "junker," as representative of feudal agrarianism, from the bourgeoisie, the representatives of capital ; we distinguish the "middle class," the representatives of local production and distribution, from the modern wage-worker or the proletariat, etc. Each one of these groups of economic interests has its special adherents in the professional classes of society among the officials, scholars, artists, who stand outside the economic life, but who unite themselves by birth or position to one or another of the social classes.

This attachment to a social class works decisively in two directions. It implants in the mind of each individual member of a class the conception of the world and life characteristic of that group of men whose thoughts and feelings tend to become identical through the uniformity of the external circumstances that control them ; similarity of aspiration and ideal is created. Further, this attachment accomplishes a positive control over the individual in the maintenance of that which is represented by the class—its social position as truly as its

## Socialism

interests ; it creates what we may call interest.

here and spontaneously there is distinction between classes, and class involved in this. The upholding of interest leads throughout to class op- Not always does the upholding of a ard involve necessarily collision with ts of other classes ; at times an iden-erests arises ; but this harmony never e interest of the "junker" must at a int come into conflict with that of er, that of the capitalist with that of ariat, that of the hand-worker and with that of the large capitalist ; for strives naturally for itself, and by

motive, each class will freely divest itself of such of its privileges as stand in the way of others? I have already had occasion in another place to express my opinion on this point—that I look upon such well-intentioned judgment of average human nature as in contradiction with actual life. I have referred to the fact that conclusive proof for or against such a conception cannot be presented; that the final ground of decision rests in the depths of personal conviction on the part of the individual. But what offers some proof for the justification of the realistic opinion presented by me is the circumstance that history has as yet given no example of a free divestment of class privilege; at least I will say that every instance claimed as such may easily be invalidated. On the other side we have innumerable instances in history where such reform has been begun by well-meaning friends of humanity, theorists, only to be shattered soon on the *rocher de bronze* of the strong self-interest of the threatened dominant class. They eagerly hold up before us unbelievers the night of the 4th of August, 1789, and they forget the hundred burning castles in France. They remind us of the Prussian agrarian reforms, and forget not

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French Revolution but also the Decembrist Revolt of 1816. They remind us—but why?—that the class struggle is the law of nations? Let such men prove a single case in history in which a class has against its own interests and class motives made an essential contribution to the progress of society. Certainly there have been conspicuous individuals who have done this; why not?—but this is daily. But a whole class—never!—so, then the word of the great realist is true, that “only strength conquers.”—and as the conclusion of our thought, class struggle, then class difference of classes, then class interests, then class opposition, finally class strife. It is not difficult to see how Marx would have developed his theory of class struggle, and easily, if he had chosen to

the social movement the idea of "revolution" passes into the thought of "evolution." The spirit of the nineteenth century supplants the spirit of the preceding centuries. You remember how I sought to make clear to you the essence of this spirit in connection with the teachings of the utopists; if I may be allowed to refer to it again, it is that idealistic conception of man and life,<sup>1</sup> cherished now only by the scholars, that faith in humanity as good by nature, that belief that men so long as they are not led astray by the mistake or malice of individual bad men will live in the most affectionate peace with their brethren; it is that belief in a "natural order" of the past and future—that rock-fast confidence that only explanation and exhortation are needed in order to bring men out of this vale of tears to the happy islands of the blest. This is that faith in the power of eternal love which through its own force shall overcome the bad, and help the good to victory. This it was that, though the leaders were not conscious of it, really lay at the bottom of all political and social agitation until the middle of our century; this it is

<sup>1</sup> In what follows I reproduce some passages out of my book concerning Friedrich Engels (Berlin, 1895).

## Socialism

My opinion, as I have already said, is that man is in the lap of anarchism even to the point of instinct. This fundamental tendency is directly reversed; the belief in a human being by nature gives place to the conviction that man is of himself ruled by no instinct, that he carries within himself the *humaine* even in all culture and in all "advance." Hence the conclusion: man, in order to accomplish anything in the world, must before all call upon "interest" as the moral and material instinct. For it is the most important conclusion for the fate of the social movement, that now "interest" rules the world; that where anything is to be done for or a class, like the proletariat, is to be done by "interest."

conciliation, not a general brotherhood—but battle. That this strife is no longer open warfare, like street riot, does not alter the fact that it is really strife. Out of this is to come a generation of men qualified to live and work in an order of society higher than the present capitalistic order.

It is this that I call the realistic conception of the social movement; and there is no doubt that it is the outcome of that Marxian theory of the world and society which I have just attempted to sketch. Only thus could the social-political realism, which heretofore has been proclaimed in a limited way, now arise as the principle of the whole social movement.

It is this social-political realism which gives the finishing stroke to all utopism and revolutionism. The insurrectionists in Lyons and the Chartist revolutionaries were both utopists—for they shed their blood and yet only strengthened the reaction. The Putschists, Clubists, and Blanquists were utopists, who through conspiracies and street riots would through all time control economic development. Not less utopian were those “geniuses” who offered exchange banks or the *Organisa-*

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*ravail* or such remedies. Utopists those who believed in the power of of schemes. Finally, utopists were kindly souls who hoped to allay and the sufferings of the proletariat by to the good hearts of the friends of

Karl Marx has succeeded in free-  
om the use of empty phrases in the  
social politics.

now in closing recapitulate the points  
see the historic significance of Marx's  
or the social movement. Marx points  
object the communisation of the means  
tion, as its *way* the struggle between  
he erects these two as the main pillars  
ch the whole structure must be built.

fathom the spirit of his teaching ; this is the deep meaning of Marxism.

There is no doubt that, according to the common idea, Marx and Engels, who must always be named with him, appear in a light essentially different from that which I have attempted to show to you. In general these men have been looked upon, not only as different from what I have stated, but as in a bad sense the very opposite of social realists ; namely, as the father and the guardian of the worst kind of revolutionary thought. And who would not apparently be justified in this belief, reading the writings of both these men ? He reads of clanking chains which must be broken, of revolutions towards which man tends, of bloody battle and death and assassination. How does the matter really lie ?

Marx himself once said, *Moi je ne suis pas Marxiste*, but he gave to these words a meaning different from the ordinary one, as I also do when I say that Marx and Engels have not always shown themselves consistent Marxists either in theory or in practice.

Doubtless there are inconsistencies in theory, contradictions of the fundamental thoughts, discrepancies which can have only

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e—that is, an overwhelming revolution which obscures a vision other-  
ear.

ample, I think of their unreasonable  
hat they call the “fall” of humanity  
the introduction of the principle of  
operty, from which as they say his-  
as well the forces of history, take  
; the astonished hearer asks himself,  
elled man to the introduction of this

I think, also, of the hypothesis of  
condition of humanity after the in-  
of socialism—and the like. Here,  
ghout, the old dreams of a Paradise  
egained, of a happy condition of hu-  
ginally, come as a disturbing element

conditions; thus it was an error of judgment as to the time, if not a contradiction of their supreme principle that "revolutions are not made." Psychologically these contradictory phenomena are easily to be explained. Both Marx and Engels have never ceased with intelligence and calm judgment to present that realism which we have seen as the essence of their view of life. But you must not forget that they have conceived their teachings under the roar of revolutionary battles; that they were themselves of those fitful and fiery souls who, like the "world squirrel,"<sup>1</sup> go assiduously from place to place in order to set Europe on fire. Think of the mass of malice and hatred that must have accumulated within these exiles, who experienced through life nothing but derision, scorn, suspicion, and persecution from their powerful opponents! Imagine what a superhuman self-discipline and control was needed to prevent them from petty and vindictive attacks upon the hated opponents at every opportunity. As this deeply

<sup>1</sup> In German mythology the world is represented as a great tree, with its roots in Niefelheim, and its branches in Asgard. Wotan communicates with the world by a "welten eichhoernchen," a "world squirrel," which runs up and down the tree.

(Translator.)

## Socialism

ssion arose in these revolutionary rage almost strangled them, their out of the window and old revolution broke out and overwhelmed them. am right in characterising Marxism political realism you see clearly from and fundamental declarations and gments of its founders, which come of all periods of their lives. And ince is always a declared opposition to evolutionism, to "Putschism," as they r standpoint. The strife with the Willich-Schapper in the year 1850, with Bakunin in the "International," ng which I have yet to speak,—the s against the anarchists, the discus-

drama, a confession, the last words of warning which the dying man cries to the contesting proletariat. Here the clear, logical position, as I think it is demanded by the conception of history held by that school, finally comes to distinct expression. This introduction shows perhaps best and most quickly how at the end Engels and Marx understood the social movement. Some of the most significant passages may here find place :

“ History has proved wrong us and all who thought similarly (sc. expecting the victory of the proletariat in the near future of the year 1843). It has made clear that the condition of economic development upon the Continent at that time was far from ripe for an abolition of capitalistic production ; it has proved this through the economic development which since 1848 has seized upon the whole continent and has made a home for the great industries in France, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and lately Russia, has made out of Germany an industrial country of the first rank—all upon a capitalistic basis, which in the year 1848 was but little developed. To-day the great international army of socialists is resistlessly stepping forward, is daily growing in number, discipline, intelligence, and assurance of victory. As to-day this mighty army of the proletariat has not as yet reached the goal, as it is far from accomplishing the victory by one great stroke, but must slowly press forward in hard persistent struggle from position

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this proves once for all how impossible it was in 1848 to accomplish the social overturn—a simple unexpected attack. . . . The rise, of carrying through a revolution by a party at the head of ignorant masses, is passed. The overthrow of the social organisation themselves must be concerned, they must understand why they do, why they take part. The history of years has taught this to us. But through the masses are learning what is to be done, and patient work is needed, and that it is work which we now urge forward with such energy that our opponents are brought to confusion. history turns everything upside down. We, however, succeed far better by means legal and destructive. The party of order, as it goes to pieces through the very conditions of itself. It cries out confusedly with Odelon, *l'égalité nous tue* (conformity to the law kills

## CHAPTER VI

### THE TREND TOWARDS UNITY

“ Schon laengst verbreit etsich's in ganze Scharen  
Das Eigenste, was im allein gehoert.”

SCHILLER'S *Wallenstein*.

Now, after long, that diffuses itself through large masses of men  
Which once was most private, which belonged to him alone.

KARL MARX closed his manifesto with the celebrated words, “ Proletarians of all lands, unite yourselves ! ” He uttered this cry on the eve of the revolution of 1848, which was admittedly proletarian-socialistic in its character, in various places, but which exhausted itself in those separate spots where it had broken out. In Germany, where Marx himself stood in the battle, it reached no importance. In England, it seemed for a moment as if the February revolution would infuse new life into the old Chartism ; but this had already been buried. The French movement is the only one left ; how it ended is well known. And then the deep night of the reac-

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the 'fifties settled upon Europe. All signs of an independent working-men's movement were suppressed. Only in England the T-union movement was developed.

At the beginning of the year 1860 signs of a new movement among the working people have appeared in different places. They recover here and there from the blows and repression which they experienced during and after the agitation of 1848, and an interest and participation in the movement begin again to awake. The characteristic trait is this: the activity of the new movement receives an international character. Naturally this is no mere chance. It is by chance that, at the World's Exhibition, the working men of different lands

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never quite disappeared from proletarian agitation, even though it may have experienced in the course of the years essential changes in the form of its development.

It will be my duty in what follows to show to you how this tendency towards internationalism, after many abortive attempts, has been really carried out, and how, in close connection with it as concerns goal and progress, the social agitations of individual lands more and more press towards a unity upon the principles of the Marxian programme.

The first form in which an attempt was made for international combination of the proletariat is the celebrated "International." Allow me to dwell somewhat at length upon this. It is essentially of importance and interest for two reasons. One is that through it, and its speedy end, a specific form of the internationalising of the social agitation has been brought *ad absurdum*. The other is, because in it with striking clearness contradictions are presented, which pervade all social agitation.

It was in the year 1862, when the French working-men, at the World's Exposition in London, agreed with the English workers to counsel together concerning united agitation.

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conferences ensued, and in 1864 a  
s founded which had as its object the  
f the representatives of workmen of  
lands for common action and advance.  
the International Association. What  
duties, what was the thought, of such  
erhood? Apparently twofold. We  
ose that they meant to create merely  
of correspondence bureau—a place  
the working men of different lands  
ite in a general international secre-  
o which they might turn for informa-  
cerning any question pertaining to  
l movement—that is, an institution  
exerting an influence upon the agi-  
the working men in the various lands.

larger meaning was Karl Marx, who was called upon to play a decisive rôle in the founding of the International Working-Men's Association. For him this organisation was the first answer to his cry to the world, "Proletarians of all lands, unite yourselves!" It is not to be doubted that if a central organisation was to be created, to reveal a spirit of unity and to ensure a unification of national proletarian agitation, the Marxian spirit should control. Although he viewed the situation clearly enough to see that extremest caution was needed, he aimed to unite the many streams into one great river.

The "International" was founded upon the basis of the so-called "Inaugural Address" and the "Statutes," both of which were evolved by Karl Marx and accepted as he presented them. In them great diplomatic skill is revealed. The "Inaugural Address" is a masterpiece of diplomatic finesse. It is indefinite throughout its whole structure, rendered purposely so by Karl Marx. He aimed, by it, to cover various parties of the time, the Proudhonists, the working-men's associations of France, the trade unions in England, the followers of Mazzini in Italy, the

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s of the Lassalle agitation in Germany it actually accomplished this in a way. It commended itself to each one of them. It pictures in effective misery into which the working people are led by capitalism ; it finds words of warning for the results of the English trade war. It praises the characteristics and services of the "free-coöperative movement" of the "new socialism" of Ducez ; but it has also a friendly attitude towards the organisations which receive aid from the state—Lassalle, Blanc.

It all is drawn only this conclusion, that all sympathise—that the proletariat should be conscious of an international solidarity. In some general and senti-

concerning it. Very little reference was made to the objects of the International Working-Men's Association. Its activity during the first years consisted essentially in the support of strikes, for which reason it enjoyed at the beginning the lively sympathy of many outside of the circles of working men.

But now Marx began to develop his plan systematically ; that is, slowly to fill the International Working-Men's Association with his spirit, and through it to support the proletarian agitation of different lands. As we look at the congresses of this organisation, in Geneva, 1866 ; Lausanne, 1867 ; Brussels, 1868 ; Basle, 1869, we find that in fact, step by step, from congress to congress, the International Working-Men's Association supports more and more the Marxian ideas, noticeably, and without any appearance of the moving spirit on the scene. But now it is interesting to observe, and it shows the degree of development which at that time the social movement had reached, that the time for the inspiration of the whole European world of working men with the Marxian ideas evidently had not yet come. In proportion as the "International" began to display the spirit of Marx, opposition raged

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quarter. The Proudhonists began to split; then the trade unions, especially at the moment when Marx declared his sympathy with the Commune in Paris; the supporters of Lassalle began to grumble. A great part of the opposition crystallized, towards the end of the 'sixties, around Michael Bakunin. As to the part played by personal anger and envy played in this split, we are not interested. It is possible that this personal friction was essentially a factor in the destruction of the "International." It seems to me, however, that at the bottom of the antagonism of Bakunin against Marx was a much more essential and considerable difference of opinion. For in 1868 Bakunin founded

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whole activity upon the idea of revolution by force, upon the belief that revolutions must be made because they can be made. In opposition to him, Marx defended the fundamental thought that a revolution is at most the last feature of a process of development, the breaking of the husk through the ripening of the fruit.

The opposition of Bakunin led finally, as is well known, to the dissolution of the International Working-Men's Association. In 1872 its general office was transferred to New York, apparently in order to avoid a formal burial of the organisation.

Thus it came to pass that the Bakunists were shut out, and with them were a number of "exclusions" from the circles of the orthodox; the process of excommunication began, which to-day, as you know, is not ended. Exactly the same thought lies at the bottom of the exclusion of the Bakunists from the "International" as, this very year, in the driving of the anarchists out of the London congress. Always again the contradiction presents itself, socialism and anarchism; or, as deeply understood, evolutionism and revolutionism.

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was shattered that first attempt to  
union of the proletariat of all lands,  
will be many years before the thought  
of international solidarity can again rule the  
world. In spite of its speedy ruin, the  
"international" has large historic significance,  
chiefly in the fact that for the first time  
it has given expression to the internationalism of the movement  
and the international community of  
the proletariat in some measure  
and expression; further, in that for the  
first time the social movement of different  
countries has been made familiar with the Marxian  
method of thought, and at the same time  
with the Marxian spirit.

Compromises of the Marxian scheme

## The Trend towards Unity 131

the cases in which Marx was not Marxian. The way to unity should have been reversed ; from within, outwardly. First must the agitations in individual lands be divested to some degree of their national and contingent features, first must the general economic development be further advanced, before the proletariat could by internal development become conscious of its international solidarity and come to a recognition of this unity in the chief points of its programme.

This internal and external unification, which is the product of the last decade, I might specify as the third stage in the development of the social movement ; and then the second stage would be the complete saturation of the German social democracy with the Marxian spirit. This political party becomes thereby the organ through which those ideas spread into other lands.

In Germany there has grown into recognition a social movement which, at the beginning, was conducted in the spirit of both Marx and Lassalle, but which soon came under the control of pure Marxism. I recall the following stages of development. When thirty-two years ago the deadly bullet struck Lassalle in

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that man was removed who alone had led the German working-men's movement; what he left behind was next to nothing. His "Working-Men's Union" numbered four thousand six hundred and ten at the moment when he closed his eyes. It was also immediately after Lassalle's death that agitation was nothing more than a small and petty strife. It was a coterie, not a social party. Thus the field in Germany was open for the development of a social-democratic movement from another quarter. This was started in 1864 by Wilhelm Liebknecht, who came to Germany as the disciple of Karl Marx, and with strong revolutionary ideas; the purpose was to establish

transfer was accomplished was drawn by Liebknecht and was inspired by the Marxian spirit. Thus in 1868 a new social party was formed in Germany which took the name of the Social-Democratic Working-Men's Party, and which, after the congress in Eisenach, stood for a time alone as the so-called "Honorable," until in the year 1875 the union of the Lassalle and the Bebel faction was accomplished in Gotha. Since that time, as you know, the one "Social-Democratic Party" exists. It is significant that the present union rests upon a compromise between Lassalle and Marx, but is really directed by the Marxists, who step by step have won control in the party. The "Gotha" programme remained as the platform of the movement in Germany for sixteen years; and not until the year 1891 was it replaced by a new platform, the "Erfurt" programme, which now constitutes the confession of faith of the Social-Democratic movement in Germany. It is pervaded by a strongly Marxian spirit and contains essentially only a statement of Marxian doctrines in accordance with the spirit of the age. Let me in a few words present merely the lines of thought in this programme. It begins with the phrases:

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conomic development of middle-class society necessarily of nature to the extinction of that order, production on a small scale, which rests on private ownership of the workman in his means of production. It separates the workman from his production, and changes him into a possessionarian ; while the instruments of production " monopoly of a small number of capitalists and their partners, etc."

see, this programme proceeds from a fundamental thought that economic development completes itself in a specific way ; now all the other matters with which Marx deals. This special Marxian thought that an economic evolution is in itself become the central point of the programme. It shows, further, how

## The Trend towards Unity 135

fare of the working classes to consciousness and unity, to show the natural and necessary goal—that is the duty of the Social-Democratic Party." This is the point that is especially important for us—the German agitation becomes completely saturated, rapidly and uninterruptedly, with Marxian ideas, and thus this spirit spreads gradually into other lands.

If you now ask me how this gradual extension of the Marxian system and in connection with it the unification of the Marxian movement are shown, the following points seem to me of especial importance. In 1873 the "International" came to an end. It seemed as if, with it, the internationalisation of the social movement in like manner had ceased. But for about a decade past we have had again general and formal "International Working-Men's Congresses." The year 1889 opened the series with a working-men's congress in Paris, again at a world's exposition. Here again, in a new and freer form, this idea of the old "International" arises, and in a much larger form than the old international working-men's associations had ever realised it. For these former international working-men's associations had been really only a combination

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ber of representatives and secretaries. These scarcely stood upon paper. The bases which now again the world over men have created rest upon a much more solid basis, in my opinion, since, in spite of "factions" and factional strife, these international meetings represent a real combination of working men conscious of their aim and destined for it—a fact which we can no longer doubt, since the old Engels-unions have become represented at these congresses. Thus the international congresses now include the so-called "socialists" and trade unions as well. In spite of all differences of opinion on certain points, at these congresses there is such expression of a common will, that it is no longer

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thoughts of the Marxian programme. There is first the important fact to remember that the French, originally uneconomic in temperament, have now begun effectively the trade-union agitation. The creation of *Bourses du Travail* prove how earnestly this part of the social movement is cultivated by the French. Through the agitation of class strife, the general movement towards such associations receives a new impulse. And as the French, inclined to revolutionary and political agitation, begin to become economic, we see on the other side the very important fact that the English working-man recedes step by step from his purely trade-union "Manchester" platform.

I have never believed what some years ago was announced to the world, in connection with a snap resolution of a working-men's congress, that the English trade-unions would go over to the socialistic camp with torch and trumpet. Such decisive changes in social life are not accomplished in that way; there is needed a slow ripening. And the proceedings of the London congress in this year (1896) prove how much antipathy yet exists between the English trade-unions and certain elements

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mental socialism. But in spite of all  
dencies the fact remains that the Eng-  
gineers' movement approaches the  
ental on important points ; that is, it has  
begun to be socialistic in aim and polit-  
e means used. That an " Independ-  
-ing-Men's Party " as yet plays no rôle  
and proves for the present nothing.  
ular conditions of English party life  
representation of the working men  
ment unnecessary under the circum-

But who can doubt, in view of the  
ings of the last decade, that the Eng-  
e-unions, even the older ones, stretch  
and more than formerly towards the  
h of legislation ? Let me remind you  
that with all the old and

In Germany we find that the normal line, upon which the social movement in all nations begins to arrange itself, was nearly reached at the start. It was only necessary to throw off some of Lassalle's peculiar ideas, those revolutionary notions which arose here and there about the year 1870, and especially to give broader play to the trade-union movement, in order to reach the "minimum programme" of all social agitation. This programme is, to repeat concisely:—the object of the social movement is the communisation of the means of production in its largest technical development upon a democratic basis; the means of reaching this aim is the struggle of classes; this has two equally justifiable forms, the economic—which finds its expression in the trade-union movement, the political—which finds its expression in representation in Parliament. The formulation of this proposition is the specific service of Karl Marx, as we have seen; and for this reason I think I am warranted in speaking of the whole social movement of our time as infused with the Marxian spirit. For it is not unknown to you that the social agitation in lands of later capitalistic development—Italy, Austria, and Russia—has been from the begin-

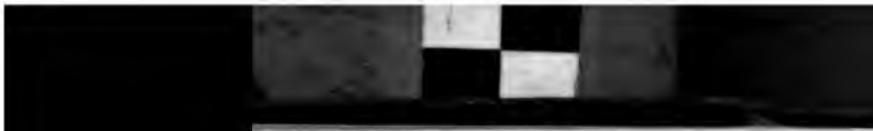
## Socialism

accordance with the thought of that

ny such way I think that I see a unifi-  
the social movement, that does not  
it I see a machine-like uniformity of  
ement in the different lands. I am  
to the innumerable diversities which  
oped by the various nations, and which  
lled every moment. I have attempted  
o you how absolutely necessary these  
peculiarities are, and to a certain de-  
ys will be—because of historic tradi-  
difference of national character. So  
speak of a unity, I only mean, as I  
eady often said, a tendency to this  
ruggles to assert itself in spite of na-  
onality. The social situation will

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you a systematic review of the manifold points of difference which have already often been referred to in the course of these lectures. Thus will be completed the picture of the essentials of the modern social movement, which I am attempting to sketch for you.



## CHAPTER VII

### TENDENCIES OF THE PRESENT

man refuses to dismiss the fool that he carries within, any great mistake, or to acknowledge any truth that despair."

GOETHE, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*.

, caring at all about what is going on in these days, has not noticed the many nations which are now apparent in the social movement? Even the inexperienced observer, or he who stands too near to to have free and wide outlook, will

quarrelsomeness, caprice, malevolence, lack of honour—innumerable traits of character give occasion for friction and contention.

But for these the social theorist cares nothing. Only that is of importance to him which rests upon an essential difference. And of these also there are enough, because the causes of them are numerous. What is here decisive is the variation in the view of world and life, is the difference of national character, is the varying degree of vision into the essence of social development or of understanding concerning accepted principles, is the varying measure of ripeness and education of the masses, is the difference in economic development in the various lands, etc.

But I cannot possibly exhaust the points of contradiction and strife which arise out of these manifold and effective causes. I shall here simply present certain matters which seem to me especially important because essentially significant. My duty as to this problem can be, again, only that of a theorist who tries to make a clear explanation, who desires not to work upon your will but upon your intelligence, who does not carry in his hand the brand of agitation but the lamp of illumination.

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not pay attention to some points of which may seem to you of supreme importance, it is not because I do not myself attach this importance, but because I suppose a contradiction that comes to expression to be either out of date or only imaginary, because I go back of them to the essential differences. Thus, for example, the alternative, *trade unions* or *a working-class party*, is either the expression of a question of opposition concerning which I shall speak, or it is a question that does not interest us in these days. Thus concerning the representatives of the working-men's party who place themselves upon the ground of legal struggle. These men know

## Tendencies of the Present 145

be decided separately in each place and case. The economic ripeness of the masses, the degree of political freedom, and much else, must decide.

In a similar way is another point of difference to be judged ; shall there be an independent working-men's party or not ? You know, I have already spoken to you a number of times concerning this, saying that in England thus far there has been practically no independent working-men's party ; I have given to you the reasons why, as it seems to me, any such party has been until now at least unnecessary, even if the working men desired to busy themselves in political matters. The political influence of the social movement is not dependent upon the existence of an independent party of working men. Even that question is not a general one ; it must be decided according to local circumstances.

If we ask now for antitheses of real importance, we are met first and especially, to-day, by that sufficiently explained opposition which is contained in the words *revolution* or *evolution*, the old point of discussion which was, is, and I believe will be, a constant feature of social agitation ; that point of separation which

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ed first in the "International," and to-day we see revived in the opposition to-called "Junger" and the anarchists the majority of organised labour. The on account of which I think that also future this discussion will not cease are us. Revolutionism is, as I have shown manifestation of unripeness. A man in a certain sense, assert that the social movement begins anew every moment; for new masses arise out of the lower ranks of the proletariat yet living in stupidousness, and they attach themselves to the social movement. These unschooled masses, of course, in their part-taking show characteristics of the social movement it-

anew. Thus we see two opposing phases of the development of social agitation that play their part at the same time in different spheres of the proletariat. So far as can be seen, there has been thus far an uninterrupted progress in the absorption of the unripe revolutionary elements by the evolutionists.

But even here, where the idea of evolution, consciously or unconsciously, obtains recognition as the basis of the social movement, we meet questions, many of which, as it seems to me, arise because of a false conception of the essence of social evolution.

Although I have had opportunity at different times to show what social evolution is, at least in a general way, let me here repeat concisely what I understand by this idea ; for a right comprehension of this point is all-important. Social evolution, and the conception of the social movement as such an evolution, rest upon the thought that we find ourselves in a continued condition of economic and thus social change, and that specific social interests and the necessary relations of mastery are connected with each change ; thus in proportion as the evolution proceeds and as the activities of the interested groups develop, the balance of power

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displaced, with the result that the rulers are slowly replaced by other classes which control. Here also lies at bottom that the division of power at any time is truly the expression of economic power, and is no merely accidental and artificial ; that this power can only be displaced gradually, and only as the economic relations are changed, and as at the same time the material and subjective conditions and the characteristics of the aspiring classes are developed.

In a word, social evolution is a continuous achievement of power, the creation of a new condition of society, corresponding to a new throw of economic relations and the education and schooling of character.

the fact that all the occurrences in social life are carried out by living men, and that men complete the process of development by placing aims before themselves and by striving to realise these aims.

The standpoints of the social theorist and of him who deals practically in social life are entirely different ; but men constantly interchange the two. For the theorist, social development is a necessary sequence of cause and effect, as he sees it in the shaping of life compulsorily by the motives of the persons involved ; and these motives themselves he tries to understand in their limitations. For him social life is a process rather of the past. But for the man who deals practically in social life, it lies in the future. What the theorist understands as the working of specified causes is, to the practical man, an object lying in the future which his will should help to accomplish. This very will is a necessary element in the causation of social happening. And this will, conditioned as it may be, is the highest personal possession of man in action. As the social theorist seeks to show as necessary specific tendencies of the will, and with them specific developments of the social life, he can do this

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self-evident limitation that the energy of the practical man in creating and accomplishing these efforts of the will does not fail. By reason, for example through the influence of quietistic sentiment, this energy is lessened, the most important link in the chain of causes would drop out, and development would take an entirely different course. It is a great mistake to apply indiscriminately to social life the idea of a development in accordance with natural law; for it is equally wrong to say that socialism must come by a law of nature." Socialism has nothing to do with any such necessity. Thus, for example, we cannot see why the development of capitalism should not lead just as well to the establishment of socialism as to the establishment of capitalism.

we have just spoken stands another matter, which also in the last analysis depends upon a right understanding of the essence of social evolution. I refer to the confusion of "ideal" and "programme"—the substitution of politics for idealism. I mean this: superficial evolutionists, especially in the ranks of the Marxists, are inclined to look with supreme contempt upon idealists and enthusiasts, and to rest only upon practical politics; they emphasise the rational to the exclusion of the ideal. That is a conception which does not at all harmonise with the real meaning of evolution. For evolution wants its highest social ideals to be realised, but these are founded only upon postulates essentially ethical. To realise these ideals it is necessary to become inspired, to kindle a heart's glow, to develop a fire of enthusiasm. The warming sun must shed its beams, if all is not to go under and become darkened—with danger of the annihilation of all life. The word of the dying St. Simon, with which he took departure from his favourite scholar Rodriguez, is eternally true: "Never forget, my friend, that a man must have enthusiasm in order to accomplish great things." When this idealism and enthusiasm disappear



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movement, when its impetus is lost, passes into a littleness of opportunism, emptiness of small politics, it dies like without life. And it is certainly one of the most unpleasant traits of many of the representatives of the proletarian movement in the dusty atmosphere of common life they have lost their enthusiasm and sunk to the level of political malcontents. On the other side, we must not confuse socialism with fantasy or utopism. Enthusiasm for the object should be combined with common sense. In the one is warmth, in the other cold; in the one lies the ideal, in the other the programme, that will offer ways and means to the end.

and necessity of gradual reform is only awakened as a deeper insight into the worth and essence of the ideal is obtained.

It must be allowed that a certain contradiction will remain in any full understanding of the evolution idea in a social movement. We cannot avoid the fact that the sceptical pessimist stands by the side of the light-hearted optimist ; that there will always be some who hope for a speedy entrance into the promised land, while others are of the opinion that the march thereto lies through the wilderness and will last long. Hence the differences of position that men take regarding what we call practical reforms. Men who believe that we are about to move into a new building will not be willing to try to improve the old structure ; but those who think that the new edifice may be long in rising will be contented to live for a while longer as comfortably as possible in the old structure. This contradiction is in the nature of man. It will continue ineradicable. It is enough for a man to be conscious of its existence.

What we have learned to recognise thus far of antithesis rests upon essentially different conceptions of the essence of social develop-

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rest upon different interpretations of one and the same conceptions—the evolutionary. Let us, in a few words, speak of a matter which rests upon the different interpretations of socialism, first when they arise to consciousness—when the different classes place upon the progress and the development of society, upon the progress and the development of social development. This contradiction rests upon a variation of ideal, and not upon a variation of programme; and it may be expressed in the antithesis *democratic or socialist*.

In order to understand properly this important contradiction, which to us Communists as the central point of discussion, and which finds its acutest expression in the "agrarian question," I must remind you something said heretofore—at that

of its economic conditions of existence, how will the proletariat conduct itself with all those strata of society who have not this same basis of economic existence? What will be the relation of the proletariat to those masses who are not yet made proletarian in character—as, for example, the lower middle-classes? And there is a question yet more important—What will be the relation of the proletariat to that part of the people, the *demos*, who cannot possibly ever have a tendency towards becoming proletarian? Here arises the great dilemma, and this is the deep contradiction which comes here to expression: Shall the aim of the proletariat remain essentially and preponderantly proletarian, or shall it become on the whole democratic? And further, if the working-men's party will interest itself in all these component parts of the *demos*, how shall the proletariat conduct itself with them? If there is to be a general democratic "people's party," what then becomes of the proletarian programme? For this is clear: the whole reason for the existence of socialistic agitation, as it is to-day attempted, with the cry of a "need of nature" in the economic development, falls to the ground in the moment when this economic development does

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to the proletarianisation of the masses  
the communisation of the processes of  
on — to mercantile operations on a  
le. If socialism is postulated upon  
r grounds of ethics or expediency, it  
e "scientific" in the thought of the  
ere, as I believe, lies the justification  
ntithesis "socialistic or democratic."  
the opposition of these two general  
each of which is represented within  
novement, is expressed that deeply  
flict of which we speak.  
hese tendencies will settle themselves  
t yet clearly see.  
ve that the following considerations  
towards a clearing of the situation.

always been only change to a higher system of economy, and that those classes thrive who represent this higher system. Behind capitalism there is no "development"; possibly there may be ahead. The degree of production which has been reached by it must in any case be rivalled by any party that will secure the future for itself. In that is shown, I think, the standard of any advance movement.

If the social democracy is to maintain its historic mission, if it is to be a party of advance, it must avoid compromise with the notoriously declining classes, as the hand-workers and other economically low organisations. Even a temporary compact with them is dangerous. It will not be admissible, also, to change the programme and goal of the social movement to suit the middle-class elements that have crept in, if that great aim of production upon the largest scale shall be held fast—because we know positively that their hand-work represents in general a low form of economy. But now the other side of the question. If there are spheres in economic life which are not to be subjected to this process of communisation, because the smaller method of business is under the conditions more profit-

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the larger,—how about the farmer? The whole problem which to-day stands before the social democracy as the "agrarian question." Must the communistic ideal of production on a large scale, and the developed socialism connected with it, undergo any change as applied to the peasantry? If a man reaches the conclusion that in the development no tendency to production on a large scale exists, but that here production on a large scale is not at all the form of management, then we see at once the decisive question—Shall we now be democratic in the sense of allowing production on a small scale in this sphere and change our programme and desert the

fully because thus far, so far as I know, there is no certainty either as to the tendency of development among the agriculturalists or as to the form of management, nor are we certain as to whether any specific form of agrarian production is the superior. But, so far as I see, the Marxian system breaks down on this point; the deductions of Marx are not applicable to the sphere of agriculture without change. He has said much of importance concerning agrarian matters; but his theory of development, which rests upon an assumption of business upon a large scale and upon the proletarianising of the masses, and which necessarily leads to socialism in its development, is only for the sphere of manufactures. It does not apply to agricultural development; and to me it seems that only a scientific investigation will be able to fill the gap which now exists.

Of far-reaching importance, and at this moment of pressing interest, are two points which I would present in conclusion. I mean the attitude of the social movement towards religion and towards nationality. Because here personal feeling and temperament may easily interfere with the clear vision of the observer, it is doubly necessary to divest oneself of all

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and to deal with these problems object-  
Let us make the attempt. Leaving out  
deration the English working-man, who  
as a generation ago, seems to oscillate  
pietism and positivism, and who on  
cannot be considered typical because  
well-known peculiar conditions of his  
ment, the proletarian movement doubt-  
strongly anti-religious. How comes this?  
r as I see, the opposition to religion  
rom two different sources: it has a  
tical" and a "practical" origin. Theo-  
the proletariat and its leaders have  
heirs of the liberal "age of illumina-  
Out of a superficial study of natural  
have sprung all these anti-religious  
of the

excludes religion. Thus the attitude of the proletariat towards religion would be entirely free and independent if the ground of its irreligion were merely a theoretic and misleading incursion into the dogmatism of natural science. But the enmity to religion has much deeper grounds. Not only has an enthusiasm for scientific materialism taken hold of the proletariat with special force ; but also the enthusiasm for unbelief has been helped greatly in its development by the instinctive feeling, or the clear consciousness, that in the materialistic conception of the world lies the germ of a mighty revolutionary force, well suited to drive authority from all spheres of life. What wonder that the proletariat took hold of it as a useful weapon for the strife ; for, as we know, one of the conditions of the very existence of the proletariat lies in a tearing asunder of all the old points of faith. Thus the predilection for materialism and atheism is well explained.

And now consider that the acceptance of this dogma betokens a protest against the Christian system of thought, which the working man must look upon as inimical because represented by the ruling classes and used in their interests. For there can be no doubt

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an overwhelming majority of cases, Christianity has been used by the classes against the movement for the salvation of the proletariat. The fate of the heretical Christians is the best illustration of this. So long as men try to support Christianity and capitalism as a necessary and permanent institution, using the Christian Church as a means to this purpose, the social movement must be anti-ecclesiastical and thus anti-religious. Thus a mistrust as to the position, the methods, the aims of the social struggle, of the official representatives of the Church estranges the proletariat from this Church and thus from the movement.

In the moment that this mistrust is removed—and you all know that the new socialists, especially in Germany, have

adaptability, I do not dare to say. But that it is thus adapted would seem to be indicated by the fact that it became the religion of Rome in its decadence and of the German tribes in the youthful freshness of their civilisation, of feudalism as well as of those stages of civilisation in which the free cities and later the bourgeoisie have had predominance. Then why may it not also be the religion of the proletariat? But it must be presented to the lower classes with all of the joy of life of which Christianity is capable. For the element of asceticism in Christianity pleases little these classes, which press towards air and light and which do not show any inclination to allow the good things of life to be taken from them.

As if overhung with thick clouds of passion, appears now the question as to the attitude of the social movement towards nationality. A great part of the heated discussion on this point, as it seems to me, is due to lack of clearness in thought. It is not so much our German language, as it is our German instinct, that distinguishes between two ideas, rightly but not always sharply separated; we are accustomed to specify them as *patriotism* and *nationalism*.

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ism, the love of the Fatherland, is in-  
eling that unconsciously and without  
held fast in our hearts, and exists  
ke love of home and of family. It is an  
ion of impressions, of memories, over  
e have no control. It is that indefin-  
er exercised upon our souls by the  
the mother tongue, by the harmony  
tional song, by many peculiar customs  
ges, by the whole history and poetry  
ome land. It is that feeling which  
its fulness only in a strange land, and  
as truly upon the soul of the exiled  
nist as upon that of the peaceful citi-  
cannot see why this should be the  
of a particular class. It is a foolish

observed before in connection with the attitude of the proletariat towards religion ; they identify the idea of "nationalism" with the ruling classes, and as enemies of the representatives of the idea they turn their hatred against the idea itself. Especially is this so because, in many lands, it is not made easy for the rising working-men's movement to identify itself with the official representatives of the nation ; hate, persecution, repression, are not suitable means to arouse pride in that national structure in which the working men must live together with those from whom all this evil proceeds. At the same time a friendly hand is reached over the national boundary-line by the proletariat of a strange and unfriendly land, by companions in suffering, with similar interests and efforts. Truly it is no wonder that the modern proletariat generally becomes imbued with an anti-national, an international, tendency.

But I hold it to be quite wrong to justify an anti-national theory by this impulsive anti-nationalism. I see in the essence of modern socialism no reason for such an idea. I have explicitly pointed out to you the tendency towards an international understanding and unity on the part of the proletariat. But that

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h artificial abolition of national barriers by one who chases after the phantom of republic will be able to imagine a development outside of national limits. man will hardly venture to prophesy certainty, even for only a short time, when the social contradictions within a small rival those points of difference that existing between nations. But it is clear even to the short-sighted that, we can see, an energetic upholding of national interests can never be entirely necessary.

If in Western Europe the differences between the nations should be so far obviated that no national questions remain in the field, I

attempt of China to enter civilisation in order to nibble at the fruits of commerce and to grow out of its narrow circle—this development will doubtless take a course which must of necessity lead to new international complications. I believe that the moment will come when European society as a whole will say to itself: All our mutual differences are of no importance as compared with that which threatens us from this enemy. As an indication of this see the attitude of America towards Asiatic development. There is a case in which the “internationalism” of the proletariat is simply thrown aside; and this would be the case also among the proletariat of Western Europe, if the coolies should begin to swarm over us like rats. An artificial sympathy with the most downtrodden people would prove too weak to restrain a sound national self-interest. So soon as a common enemy threatens the existence of a society it becomes again conscious of its economic interests and rallies to their support; and in the meantime its internal differences are forgotten.

Thus there can be no talk of an essential repudiation of nationalism on the part of the



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at throughout the world. Discussion question concerns only a circle of nations to which one does not want the principle of anti-nationalism applied. Which national groups are constituted is on which it is not necessary for us to determine, as I desire only to present a central point in the national problem. That, with this discussion, I complete circle of my thought, and return to which I began—the idea that there apparently always will be, an anti-national which, as around poles, human circles, the social and the national, something which the proletariat should get.



## CHAPTER VIII

### LESSONS

*“Πόλεμος πατήρ πάντων.”*

War is the father of all things.

CAN we draw lessons from this historical review of the social movement? I think we can, on many points; to show you what these lessons are will be my effort in this last lecture. Perhaps I may exert some influence upon the judgment of those who personally stand outside of the present social strife and desire to be merely passionless observers. And I shall be glad if, here and there among those actively engaged in the struggle, some shall be found who will recognise the justice of what I may say.

It seems to me that the first impression to be made upon anyone by quiet observation of the social movement must be that it is necessary and unavoidable. As a mountain torrent, after a thunder-storm, must dash down into the valley according to “iron, unchangeable

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must the stream of social agitation self onward. This is the first thing for derstand, that something of great and importance is developing before our recognise "that in all that happens ccomplished in connection with this nt we are in the midst of a great pro-world history which with elementary kes hold of individuals and even na- and concerning which it is as wrong htedly to deny the fact as inade- o struggle against it." (Lorenz von Probably there are some who believe social movement is merely the mali- ork of a few agitators, or that the emocracy has been "brought up by

—that the modern social movement, at least in its main features, exists necessarily as it is. Among these main features I include the object that it sets before itself, the socialistic ideal; also the means which it chooses for the accomplishment of this ideal,—class strife. I have already attempted to show you why these points must be allowed as the necessary result of existing conditions.

Now shall we who do not stand in the ranks of those who struggle for the new social order, shall we who only tremble for the permanence of that which seems to us necessary for the upholding of our civilisation—shall we be greatly pained and troubled at the present condition of things as thus shown?

I think it hardly necessary to excite ourselves over the “dangers” of any socialistic order of society in the future. We who know that all social order is only the expression of specific economic relations can face what comes with indifference; so long as these arrangements of economic life are not given up, especially so long as the character of the persons involved is not completely changed, no power on earth, no party—be it ever so revolutionary—can succeed in establishing a new

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order for humanity. And if these conditions are at any time fulfilled—then will be time to look further.

It is not this socialistic ideal of the world that principally causes anxiety to so many. It is rather the form in which the ideal is striven for; it is that word of the Philistines both male and female—class strife.

Let us acknowledge that for me this idea of a world without strife is nothing at all terrible, rather the reverse. Is it really true that, even if strife should prevail throughout society, man must give up the hope of a further and successful development of humanity? Is it really true that in a world of culture, all the noblest acquirements of man are endangered by that strife?

of much that is desirable. I think that the old proverb is true as applied even to social strife, "*Πόλεμος πατήρ πάντων.*" It is only through struggle that the most beautiful flowers of human existence bloom. It is only struggle that raises the great masses of the common people to a higher level of humanity. Whatever of culture is now forced upon the masses comes to them through struggle; the only warrant for the hope that they can be developed into new and higher forms of culture lies in the fact that they must rise through their efforts, that step by step they must fight for their rights. It is struggle alone that builds character and arouses enthusiasm, for nations as for classes. Let me remind you of a beautiful saying of Kant's, that expresses the same thought: "Thanks to nature for intolerance, for envious and emulous self-seeking, for the insatiable desire to have and to rule! Without this, all the desirable qualities of humanity would lie eternally undeveloped. Man wants peace, but Nature knows better what is necessary for him; she wants strife."

And why lose courage, as we see that even in social life struggle is the solution? To me this seems no reason for despair. I rejoice in

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of the history of the world ; that is view of life which makes struggle as central point of existence.

We should never forget that as conflict developer of what is good, so it may also disturber and destroyer of all civilisation does not lead only and by necessity her life, it is not necessarily the beginning of a new culture : it can also betoken the end of the old, and of all, human existence.

For this reason I think that we should never be content with the triumph of two great ideas in this strife.

That all social struggle should be determined within legal bounds. Thus only can the triumph of the idea of right remain uninjured. If this we plunge into chaos. Man

This exhortation addresses itself in like manner to both parties in the struggle ; to those who are now in power, not less than to those who are carrying on the social agitation. *Intra muros peccatur et extra !* There is sin within, as without, the walls.

The same is true of a second demand, which must be developed in the name of culture and humanity within these struggling parties, if the social strife is not to be a war of extermination. It must be carried on with proper weapons, not with poisoned arrows. How greatly have both sides been to blame in this respect ! How difficult it is to keep out of the battle on the one side bitterness, mendacity, malice ; on the other side brutality, derision, violence ! How readily does the one opponent charge dishonour or bad motive against the other ! How repellent, how offensive, too often, is the tone in which opinion is expressed ! Must that be ? Is that necessary for energetic assertion of one's standpoint ? Does a man think that he loses anything by conceding that his opponent is an honourable man and by assuming that truth and honour will control in the dealings of his adversary ? I do not think so. The man who places him-

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y in the struggle, who sees that in all strife is the germ of whatever occurs, be able easily to conduct this strife in way, to respect his opponent as a man, attribute to him motives no less pure own.

is not the social struggle, according dea of it, as necessary as a thunder- a heavy atmosphere ? He who sees struggle something artificial, produced men, may perhaps attribute to the of the disturbance bad motives for this for this frivolous and malicious up- f social rest. But he who understands struggle arises necessarily out of the ion of social life, and that it is only a between two great principles, each

be an opponent. Then will it be easy, I think, to respect the other man, to refrain from suspicion and contempt, to battle with him openly and honourably. Shall we extol the Geneva Convention, which humanised warfare, as a fruit of advanced culture ; and yet within our kingdom, like barbarians, without any consideration for the opponent, fly one upon another with dishonourable weapons ?

In this the development of English social agitation can serve as a model. It points out to us how men may conduct in social life a moral and civilised warfare. Even upon the Continent, I hope, will the more humane form of struggle reach acceptance, if only because it springs of necessity from a deeper conception of what class strife really is. So long as the battle rages legally and honourably, we need not worry about the future of our civilisation.

Schiller's lines show how undisturbed we may be at the social struggle :

" A full life is what I want,  
And swinging and swaying, to and fro,  
Upon the rising and falling waves of fortune.  
For a man becomes stunted in quietness of life ;  
Idleness and rest are the grave of energy.

But war develops strength,  
It raises all to a level above what is ordinary,  
It even gives courage to the cowardly."

international activity of the working-men's movement. In addition, the movement of capitalism and of social legislation, so far as they have relation of  
re indicated in heavy type.

FRANCE.	GERMANY.	INTERNATIONAL.

reintroduce the Eliza-  
bethan trade ordinances.  
**Laws for the protection  
of machines.**

1776      Adam Smith (1723-90);  
"Wealth of Nations."

1796      Babeuf's conspiracy, or  
"The Equals."

1800      Robert Owen (1771-1858;  
chief writings: "A  
New View of Society,"  
"Book of the New  
Moral World"). Enters  
the Dale manufactory at  
Lanark.  
**Rigorous prohibition of  
combination.**

1808      Charles Fourier's (1772-  
1837) first great book  
appears: "Théorie des  
quatre mouvements"  
(1822); "Théorie de  
l'unité universelle"  
(1824); "Le nouveau  
monde industriel et so-  
ciitaire").

Kingdom. Rapid  
economic develop-

mon's (1760-1825)  
work, "Du Sys-  
Industriel," ap-  
1825: "Nouveau  
ianisme").

1830-1832	ment ; "Enrichissez-vous, messieurs."
	The movement of Bazard and Enfantin, the disciples of Saint Simon.
1831	Insurrection of the silk workers in Lyons : "Vivre en travailant ou mourir en combattant."
1833	Beginnings of specific legislation for working-men.
1834	Grand national consolidated trade union, in the spirit of Robert Owen.
1836	Beginning of the "Journalistic" period of Fourierism under Victor Considerant. Appearance of the Christian socialists (De La Menais) ; the "Icarian Communism" of Cabet (Voyage en Icarie, 1840).
	The "Junger Deutschland" in Switzerland. "Bund der Gerechten" ; with its central office in London after 1840.

unions (Bucnez,  
796).

anc (1813-1882):  
nisation du tra-  
development of  
histic-commu-  
clubism and  
racy in "Société  
travailleurs égali-

1844	P. J. Proudhon (1809-1865). "Qu'est-ce que la propriété?"	<p><b>The Pioneers of Rochdale.</b></p> <p>Loom riots in Langenbielau u. Peterswaldau; tumults of working-men in Breslau, Warmbrunn, and other places.</p>
1847		<p>The "Bund der Gerechten" changes itself into the "Bund der Kommunisten" and takes as its platform the "Communistic Manifesto," written by Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Frederick Engels (1820-1895). "Proletarians of all lands, unite yourselves."</p>
1848		

The "Bund der Gerechten" changes itself into the "Bund der Kommunisten" and takes as its platform the "Communistic Manifesto," written by Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Frederick Engels (1820-1895). "Proletarians of all lands, unite yourselves."

Communistic agitation on the Rhine, started by Karl Marx and associates. ("Neue Rheinische Zeitung," I. VI. 48-49. V. 49). The German working-men's movement captured by the hand-workers. Stefan

The Paris "February Revolution." Proletarian representatives in the provisional government; Louis Blanc and Albert. 23. u. 24. VI., "June insurrection." The proletariat defeated in street fights.

Stern regulations of the various German governments and of the Confederation for the complete repression of the working-men's movement.

Gradual founding of working-men's associations and "culture unions" (Schulze-Delitzsch).

laws of Napoleon I. for the regulation of all social

1851 Founding of the United Society of Machinists.

First World's Exposition in London.

1852

The "League of Communists" dissolves.

1862

Deputation of working-men from Leipzig to the leaders of the national union in Berlin; "Honorary members."

1863

Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864; 1858, "Heraklit, der Dunkle"; 1861, "System der erworbenen Rechte"); I. III.: "Offenes Antwort-schreiben an das Central-Komitee zur Berufung eines allgemeinen deut-scher Arbeiter-Kon-gresses zu Leipzig."  
23. V.: Founding of the general German working-men's movement by Lassalle. Disruption after Lassalle's death in the male line (Becker, J. B. von Schweitzer)

(Countess Tratzero).

Founding of the International Working-Men's Association by the delegates of different nations at the World's Exposition in London. Inaugural address and a constitution by Karl Marx. He remains the veiled leader of the "International." The general office of the Society is in London.

Beginnings of trade agitation; the tobacco workers; (1866 the printers).

**Bismarck forces the general, equal, secret, and direct ballot.**

Appearance of the first volume of "Capital" by Karl Marx.

Founding of the "Alliance Internationale de

La démocratique sociale" by Michael Bakunin (1814-1876), with anarchist tendencies in clear opposition to the Marxist ideas.

Liberal trade regulation for the German Empire. Rapid development of capitalism, especially after the war.

The founding of the "Social-Democratic Working-men's Party" at the Congress at Eisenach: the so-called "Ehrlichen." August Bebel (born 1840); Wilhelm Liebknecht (born 1826). Founding of the "Hirsch-Duncker" trade unions.

The General Assembly of the German Catholic unions decides upon participation in the social movement from the Catholic standpoint.

Congress of the "I. A. A." at Hague. Exclusion of Bakunin and his faction, who yet for a time find a standing-place in the "Fédération juraissienne." Removal of the general office of the "I. A. A." to New York.

Fusion of the followers of Lassalle with the Eisenachers at the congress in Gotha. The "common promise platform" of Gotha.

General French  
-Men's Con-  
Paris,

The "I. A. A." formally dissolves.

1877

**The Ghent "World's Congress."** Attempt for the reconciliation of the Bakunists and the Marxists miscarries. A general union of International Socialism is resolved upon by the Marxists, but does not come to importance.

1879-  
1890

**Law concerning the socialists.**  
Destruction of working-men's organizations. Removal of the strength of the agitation to other lands. ("Social-demokrat" in Zurich and London.)

1878  
1879

Founding of a conservative Christian Socialism by Stocker.

**Working-Men's Congress** in Marseilles for the first time gives power to the Collectivists.

the moderates and  
radicals. The lat-  
titude themselves  
"Parti ouvrier ré-  
volutionnaire socialiste  
is."

Men's Congress  
Etienne, Division  
en the Possibilists  
the "Guesdists."  
ormer split, at a  
me, into "Brons-  
("Fédération des  
leurs socialistes de  
"), Marxists, and  
manists" (Parti  
socialiste révo-  
naire français).

1883	Founding of the Fabian Society.	Beginning of government working-man's insurance; Insurance for the sick; 1884, Insurance against accident; 1890, Insurance for the sick and aged.
1884		A new "Syndicate" law favors the development of the trade-union movement.
1885		Founding of the "Société d'économie sociale" by Benoit Malon, the center of the "independent" socialists ("Parti socialiste indépendant").
1886		Founding of the "Fédération des syndicats" at the Congress at Lyons.
1887		Beginning of the "new Unionism"; the trade-union movement reaches lower strata of the working men with socialistic tendencies (John Burns,



Two International Congresses of Working-men at Paris constituted by the "Possibilists" and the "Guesdists," proclaim as the salvation of the proletariat in general the legal enactment of an eight-hour day of work, and the celebration of May 1st as the working-men's holiday. (The first International Association Congress under the new enumeration.)

The first May festival of the proletariat in all civilized lands.  
The first International Miners' Congress at Jolimont.

1890

International Working-Men's Protection Conference in Berlin called by Kaiser Wilhelm II., attended by delegates from 13 nations.

1891

Second International Working-Men's Congress at Brussels. Exclusion of the Anarchists.

A new party programme for the Social-Democracy founded definitely upon Marxian principles: the so-called "Erfurt programme."

Separation of the "independent" socialists of anarcho-syndicalist tendency from the Social-Democracy.

1892

First general trade-union Congress at Halberstadt.

Congress of socialists at Marseilles resolves upon an agrarian programme with recognition of small peasant holdings.

1893

Third International Working-Men's Congress in Zurich; the English trade-unions

The Social-Democracy comes out of the parliamentary elections as the strongest party in Germany.

First Congress of the "Fédération de Bourses du Travail."

union with the continental socialists.

First International Weavers' Congress at Manchester.

Beginning of a Democratic-Christian-Social agitation by Pastor Naumann (Die Hilfe).

Fourth International Working-Men's Congress in London.

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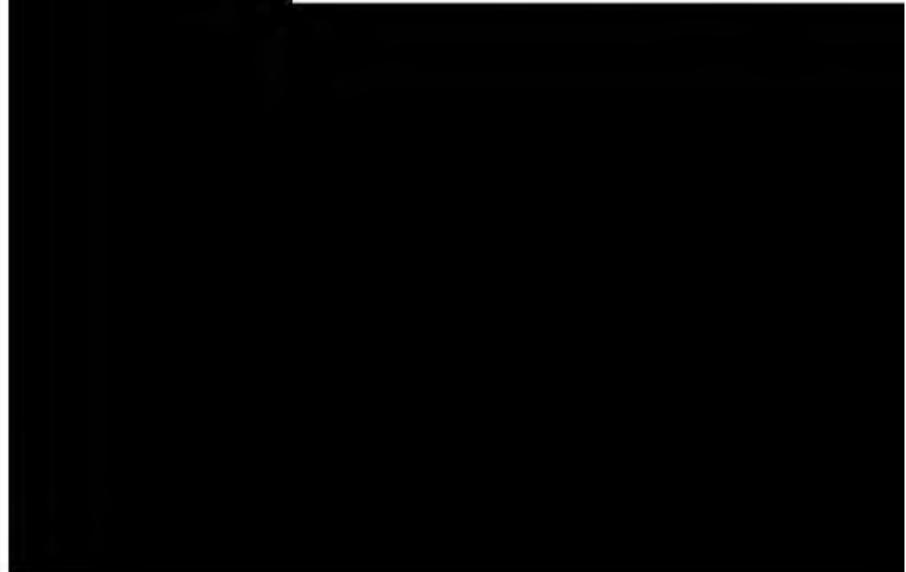
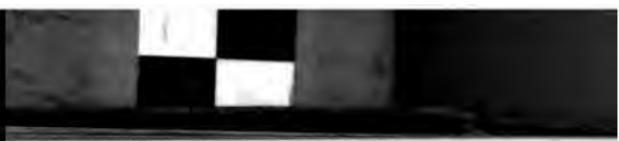
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